

# FLORENCE AND ITS CHURCH IN THE AGE OF DANTE

George W. Dameron



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# *Florence and Its Church in the Age of Dante*

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Dante*

George W. Dameron

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*To my parents, Elizabeth Eaddy Dameron and John Lasley Dameron*



# *Contents*

Introduction

1 Institutions

2 Vocations

3 Economy

4 Piety

5 Commune

Conclusion

List of Abbreviations

Appendices

*A. Dating, Measurements, Names, and Currency*

*B. A Checklist of Notarial Protocols for a Study of Ecclesiastical Institutions*

*C. Papal Provisions and Expectatives*

*D. Patronage Rights in Ecclesiastical Institutions*

*E. Major Locations of Ecclesiastical Property, 1230–1330*

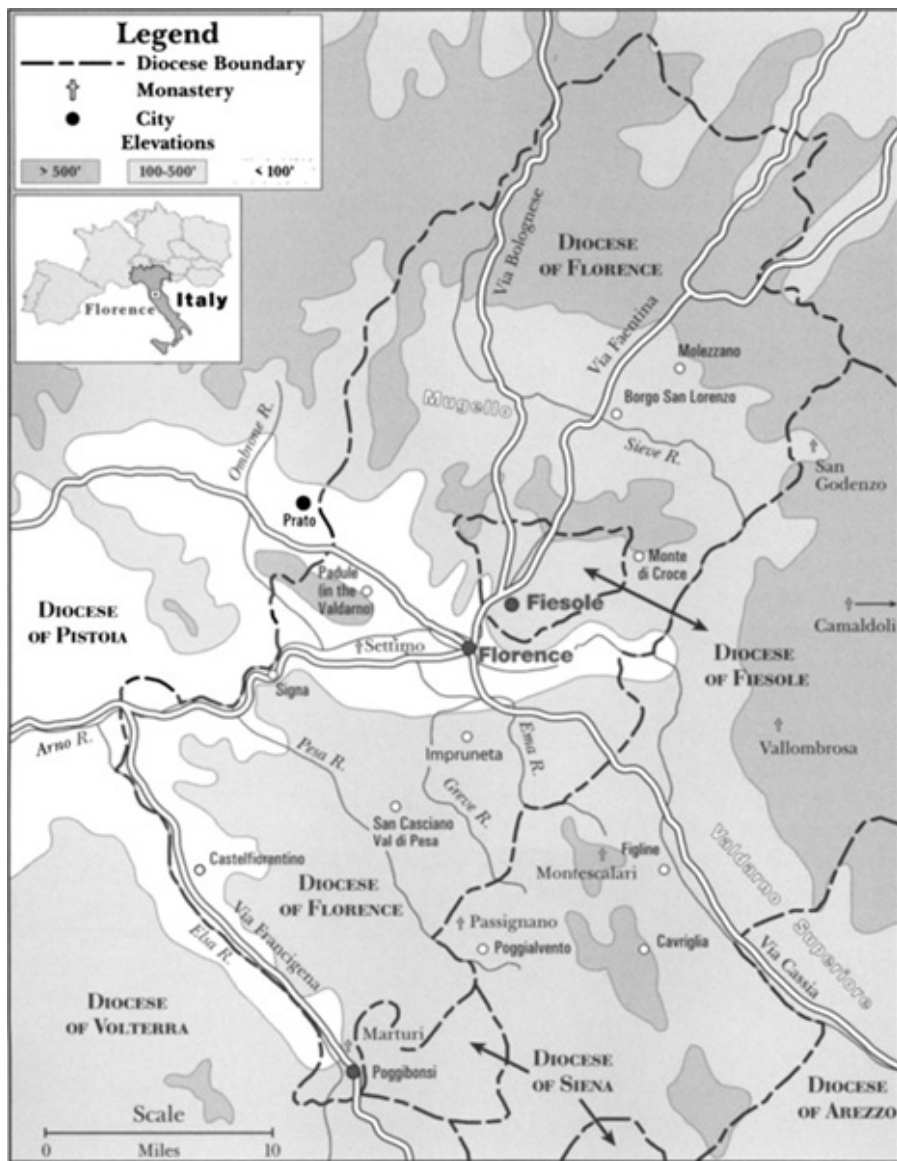
Chronology of Significant Events Mentioned in Text

Notes

Bibliography

Index

Acknowledgments



Map 1. The dioceses of Florence and Fiesole, circa 1300. Map by Robert Gagliuso, Northern Cartographic, South Burlington, Vermont.



# *Introduction*

On July 3, 1292, in the open-air loggia of Orsanmichele in central Florence, where grain merchants sold their grain to feed a growing population, a series of curative miracles occurred that contemporaries believed were associated with an image of the Virgin Mary. According to the fourteenth-century chronicler Giovanni Villani (1280–1348), the local population had for a while been gathering there every evening to chant lauds before the image of the Blessed Virgin, painted on a column inside the structure. As the fame of these miracles spread throughout the region, pilgrims streamed in from all over Tuscany to pray to her to heal themselves or their loved ones. According to Villani, writing a generation later, those who believed the Virgin answered their prayers soon filled the wooden loggia to capacity with wax votive images. Each object was the acknowledgment of a miracle. After entering the grain market, a growing number of pilgrims began to leave large amounts of money available for distribution to the poor.<sup>1</sup>

Included at the end of a section of his chronicle devoted primarily to political and military matters, this brief story captures some essential truths about the nature of Florentine society during the lifetime of Dante. The chronicler speaks here of a spontaneous and vibrant eruption of popular piety, a special devotion to sacred places, the constant movement of people into and out of the center of the city, and the troubling presence of the poor in the midst of prosperity. There is also evident here a connection between the marvelous and the mundane, between the material process of food distribution and a fervent reverence for the miraculous power of the painted image. Above all, this episode encapsulates an important truth: the Florentine church and the growing prosperity and power of the commune were inextricably linked.<sup>2</sup> Here—in the center of the city—economic realities and spiritual yearnings intersected. The site had previously been occupied by a church, San Michele in Orto. In 1292 it became a grain market. The city leaders had leveled it in 1249 to make room for a piazza and grain exchange, and it rapidly became the principal distribution point for the provisioning of this increasingly populated city. By 1284 a loggia existed on the site, and by 1292 the little church of San Michele in Orto had disappeared. Nevertheless, at this burgeoning food distribution center, Florentines continued to gather to sing lauds before a painted image of the Virgin, housed in a tabernacle attached to one of the pilasters of the loggia. The location remained linked to the sacred, paradoxically binding the material with the spiritual.

For observers like our chronicler, Giovanni Villani, in the space of two short generations, Florence had rapidly become one of the foremost cities of Europe. Much like New York in the generation after the American Civil War, Florence after the mid-thirteenth century was a former second-tier city rapidly on the rise, bustling with a large immigrant population, new money, and extensive new construction. With its growing wealth, new citizens, expanding suburbs, and extensive new building programs, Florence was indeed a city that was surpassing its rivals—Pisa, Arezzo, Siena, and Lucca—to assume a position of economic and political prominence. By 1300 the city had 100,000 inhabitants, double the populations of Siena and Pisa, and three times the population of Lucca. Only Paris was more populated.<sup>3</sup> The position of Florence as the premier commune of Tuscany was a new phenomenon in 1300, and the pace of demographic and economic growth was startling. Writing in the late 1330s, Giovanni Villani—in five famous chapters of book 11 of his chronicle—proudly boasted of the supremacy, power, and magnificence of the city of Florence. Indeed, as Giovanni Cherubini has noted, Villani's Florence was a city that had achieved its highest level of development.<sup>4</sup> Not even the most astute observer in the early thirteenth century could have predicted this outcome. After all, Florence had remained a political and economic backwater for most of the thirteenth century. Prior to 1250 Pisa, Lucca, and Siena had been the principal cities of Tuscany, not Florence. Only after 1250 did the population of Florence exceed that of Pisa, and before then there are few references to its merchants. Even in terms of its political developments, Florence began developing its key institutions only after its Tuscan neighbors had already done so. Furthermore, unlike Lucca before 1300, Florence had controlled little of its immediate countryside (*contado*), a development that was important for later political as well as economic security.<sup>5</sup>

All of this changed rapidly after the middle of the thirteenth century. In the space of fifty years—from 1250 to 1300—its banking companies surpassed in importance those of Siena (the previous banking center), and its elite commenced construction on the secular and religious buildings that still dominate the city skyline.<sup>6</sup> By 1328, through a series of political reforms, the Florentines had created a more stable institutional structure than had existed in the previous decades. Following a period of tumultuous factional conflicts, the ruling elite that now governed the commune was steadier than before. Economically, by the third decade of the fourteenth century, Florence had become a center for the manufacture of fine luxury textiles. Its industrial prominence as a center of cloth finishing and later (from the 1320s) luxury cloth production for export was unrivaled in Tuscany and in all of Italy. In terms of cultural history, the religious and intellectual environment had by 1328 inspired some of the most enduring monuments of Florentine art: the

*Commedia* of Dante, the tower and the frescoes of Giotto, the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, the Palazzo della Signoria, the Bargello (the fortress-like palace of the captain of the people), and the two major friaries of Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella. Following the death of their last major regional pro-imperial (Ghibelline) rival in 1328 (Castruccio Castracane of Lucca), Florentine leaders were presiding over a regime and civic culture bent on territorial expansion.<sup>7</sup>

For many in Florence at the time, however, the cost to society of this rise to supremacy was too great. As the city swelled with newcomers from the countryside who were seeking work in the large industrial enterprises, the streets seemed to teem with the poor, the homeless, and the seasonally employed. Perhaps 10 percent of the population was destitute in the midst of this growing prosperity.<sup>8</sup> One man alone, according to Villani, gave alms to 17,000 poor, 17 percent of the urban population. Dante Alighieri himself wrote in the *Inferno* about the toll that immigration and profit-taking had taken on his native city:

Newcomers to you,  
O Florence, and sudden profits, have led to pride  
And excess that you already mourn!<sup>9</sup>

In this quote Dante captures one of the central paradoxes of Florentine culture—a paradox embedded in the religious environment of the city: there was pride in a prosperous Florence as a chosen city of God, but disdain for the vices of greed and arrogance that had helped transform it so rapidly into a city divided increasingly between rich and poor, insiders and outsiders.

How had this city—which in 1250 had scarcely expanded beyond the limits of the Roman walls—rapidly become by 1330 one of the most affluent, culturally dynamic, and politically powerful cities on the continent, not to mention in Tuscany? Why not Pisa, Lucca, or Siena? There is no one answer to these questions. As Philip Jones has recently summarized, its “competitive superiority,” its ability to dominate lesser cities militarily, its success at compelling Pisa to grant freedom of commerce into and out of its port (after 1254), and its close connections to the Roman papacy were all important factors. Also significant were its successful pursuit of a policy of “urban colonialism” and its control of credit and capital flows that forced other communes (such as Arezzo, Volterra, and San Gimignano) into economic dependence. Perhaps the most important explanation, as Paolo Malanima has argued, is that two processes developed simultaneously in Florence and nowhere else in Tuscany: an advanced export-oriented textile industry and a highly productive and efficient agricultural sector. Each interacted with the other synergistically to create an accelerated rate of economic growth. Domestic and international demand for Florentine cloth became robust as the Flemish cloth industry began to decline in the early decades of the fourteenth century. At the same time, urban merchants invested heavily in land. The

Florentine gold coin, the florin, rapidly became the preferred currency of international trade, outstripping the popularity of the Byzantine *hyperperon* and the Genoese *genoino*. The success of the florin was an emblem of growing Florentine prosperity and influence (see Appendix A, “Dating, Measurements, Names, and Currency,” for information on the Florentine monetary system).

Florence also possessed other distinct advantages with regard to other cities, and it benefited from their misfortunes. Florence commanded militarily more of its surrounding territory than did Genoa and Venice, providing it with needed supplies of raw materials and labor. Florentine merchants were apparently more prudent in their investments than were their Lucchese and Sienese counterparts, as they tended to counterbalance their riskier ventures with substantial expenditures in land. Lucca was the first commune in Italy to see its economic influence (in silk) extend beyond Tuscany, but the gradual emigration of its silk workers, the intense factional fighting that led to the exile of many of its wealthiest citizens, and the sacking of the city in 1314 all contributed to its economic decline. In addition, the disappearance of significant military threats stemming from Pisa (after its defeat by Genoa at the battle of Meloria in 1284) and from Lucca (after the death of Castruccio Castracane in 1328) left Florence with no significant military rival. For all practical purposes, by the 1330s Pistoia had become an economic and political satellite of its more populated neighbor. While benefiting from their economic and political advantages, Florentines skillfully and artfully developed alliances with powerful partners after the middle of the thirteenth century: the Angevin kingdom in Naples, the papacy, and other pro-papal (Guelf) communes. Determined to control the principal Tuscan mountain passes and ports, Florence embarked from the middle of the fourteenth century on a policy of outright direct political and military domination. Most of its Tuscan neighbors succumbed: Prato (1350), Pistoia (1351), Volterra (1361), Arezzo (1384), Pisa (1406), Cortona (1411), and Livorno (1421). Only Lucca and Siena remained independent of direct Florentine control into the modern era (until 1847 and 1557, respectively), but their economic and political capabilities were mere shadows of what they had been in the thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

It is not the intent of this book to establish and describe in a comprehensive fashion the uniqueness of Florence, nor is it to account fully for its unprecedented success. Those goals are beyond its scope. Rather, the principal purpose of this study is to address the following question: what part did the Florentine church, that complex set of ecclesiastical personnel and institutions that saw itself as an instrument of God’s will on earth, play in this rapid and stunning transformation? Robert Davidsohn, whose work on medieval Florence remains unparalleled in scope and comprehensiveness, argued that overall, the role of the church in Dante’s Florence was divisive, corrupting, obstructionist, and negative. In many ways, he echoed the critical

sentiments of Jacob Burckhardt about the church a generation before.<sup>11</sup> We are now in a position to reassess those judgments. In the past three decades, historians of the Florentine church have been extremely productive, and we have learned a great deal about this complex dimension of Florentine history. Almost all aspects of church life—confraternities, saints' cults, the principal collegiate churches, the bishopric, the visual arts, women's religious communities, the friars, the cathedral, the cathedral chapter—have been studied and examined in detail.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, no recent study currently exists that assesses how ecclesiastical institutions, communities, and culture contributed to the dramatic transformation of the commune during the lifetime of Dante. Indeed, principal surveys of Florentine history during this period say surprisingly little about the church at all.<sup>13</sup>

This book argues that between 1250 and 1330 ecclesiastical institutions, personnel, and traditions promoted and facilitated the rapid ascent of Florence to a position of continental prominence and influence. At the same time, ecclesiastical communities offered social and economic support to many of those who had been adversely affected by that transformation or excluded from the prosperity associated with it. Overall, the church played a constructive role institutionally, economically, culturally, and politically in the process by which Florence became the dominant commune in Tuscany. It was complicit and deeply involved in this transition, not resistant or peripheral to it. Between 1250 and 1330 ecclesiastical communities provided the leadership, effective governance, and stability in both city and countryside that helped create the kinds of social conditions that made the rise of Florence to supremacy possible. They provided settings in which a composite but divided ruling class could emerge. Economically, they significantly contributed to and benefited from the development of the region, and their roles were especially valuable in the areas of food production, charity, shelter for the poor and the marginal, fiscal affairs, and urban development. As such, they helped make possible the two major economic changes that set Florence apart from other Tuscan communes: industrialization and the development of an efficient and productive agricultural sector.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, many ecclesiastical institutions and personnel in both city and countryside sought to mitigate the social and economic costs of these changes by providing those adversely affected by these events with shelter, charity, credit, favorable terms on leases, and effective dispute mediation. In the countryside, members of the secular clergy, priests in daily contact with the laity, acted to soften some of the most deleterious effects of expanding urban and papal control over their communities by providing credit and reasonable terms on leases to their parishioners. By the 1320s, the secular clergy was acting as a collective body to protect itself and its parishioners from the burdens of oppressive taxation.

Florentine ecclesiastical communities and cultural traditions were also meeting the complex pastoral and sacramental needs of a spiritually troubled Florentine population made uncomfortable by the material consequences of



sudden wealth. Central to the spiritual traditions of medieval Florentines was the idea of purgatory, a concept that paradoxically helped legitimize and promote the triumphant economic development of the commune. Like their counterparts in Provence, those benefiting the most from an expanding economy found that their testamentary legacies for postmortem masses, the recitation of the Divine Office, and charitable giving—all intended to lessen time spent in purgatory—offered them and their families hope for ultimate salvation in a world that was dominated by usury and moneymaking. Purgatory gave them permission—if not actually an incentive—to create wealth without the certainty of inescapable damnation. Consequently, as the economy expanded, purgatory became more popular among the prosperous. As the concept became more diffused after 1250, it helped render moneymaking in Florence possible, if not necessary, thereby helping to fuel the economic expansion of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Making money could imperil one's soul, but monetary legacies channeled into masses, prayers, and good works could also hasten one's journey into paradise. The idea of purgatory had another function as well: it encouraged if not required care and concern on the part of the wealthy for those who had been adversely affected by the transformation of Florence into an industrial society. Nowhere in Europe (except for Provence) did the acquisition of wealth seem more rapid or its consequences so noticeable than at Florence in the first decade of the fourteenth century. It should not surprise us, therefore, that the principal theoretician of purgatory was a Florentine, Dante Alighieri.<sup>15</sup>

Other characteristics of Florentine spiritual and cultural traditions, particularly with regard to the special devotion of women for religious images, helped shape Florentine artistic traditions in important ways during one of the most creative phases in the cultural history of Florence. Charitable giving and the peacemaking activities of members of ecclesiastical communities in both rural and urban environments did much to preserve social order during this period of tumultuous economic, social, political, and demographic change, especially during periods of war and dearth. Indeed, because urban legal and jurisdictional power came much later to the Florentine countryside than it had at Pisa and Lucca,<sup>16</sup> during this period of rapid transition members of the secular clergy were integral to the resolution of local disputes in the *contado*, the governance of local communities, and the maintenance of social peace and order. Finally, ecclesiastical communities and traditions contributed ideologically, economically, and politically to the formation of a territorial *dominium* and to the legitimization of the Guelf commune. They promoted the ideal of “rebirth” or “revival” of the commune, a transformation that Lucio Riccetti has identified with the theme of “renewal” (*rinnovamento*).<sup>17</sup> All in all, the picture of the church that emerges from this study is a very complicated one. It was not a single monolithic organization, but a set of ecclesiastical communities and traditions divided by

ideas, wealth, gender, geography, and location within the institutional hierarchy. The contributions of the Florentine church certainly do not alone account for the remarkable changes occurring in Florence during the lifetime of Dante, but we cannot fully account for these developments without reference to them.

The time span chosen for this study is appropriate for several reasons. The decades between 1250 and 1330 define the distinctive period of two generations during which Florence emerged out of the company of second-rank Tuscan communes (mid-thirteenth century) to become a continental power (the fourth decade of the fourteenth). Economically, by 1330 the period of greatest prosperity for the Florentine church (specifically, the secular clergy) was coming to an end. Politically, these two generations also cover the period between the rise of prosperous non-nobles (the *popolo*) in the middle of the thirteenth century and the consolidation of the Guelf guild-dominated regime following the death of Charles of Calabria (d. 1328). New magistracies developed in the course of these eighty years to provide stability and to establish a regional territorial state, the lineaments of which had become apparent by 1330. Culturally and intellectually, the two generations between 1250 and 1330 were also among the most productive and creative in Florentine (and European) history. They spanned the lifetimes of both Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) and Giotto di Bondone (1266–1336), and they constituted the decades in which the most recognizable monuments in medieval Florence began to take shape (the Palazzo dei Priori, Santa Maria del Fiore, and the friaries of the Dominicans and Franciscans).<sup>18</sup>

The aim here is not to provide a complete and comprehensive synthesis of Florentine ecclesiastical history. That task, in and of itself, would require many volumes, as virtually every aspect of Florentine ecclesiastical history has become a field in itself. Rather, the goal is to account for the role of the church in the transformation of Florence during the lifetime of Dante. Although there is still much research that remains to be done in the field of Florentine church history, this is the first study since the publication of Robert Davidsohn's work more than a century ago to offer a general overview. To situate the role of the church in its institutional, economic, social, and cultural contexts, I draw on original research as well as on the pioneering work of other historians in the field. The original research for this book focuses primarily on the secular clergy (the bishopric, the cathedral chapter, the rural and urban parish clergy), the economic history of other major institutions, selected rural and urban parishes, testamentary legacies, and, to a lesser extent, selected regular and mendicant communities and confraternities. I supplement this original research with published scholarship on female religious communities, saints' cults, the collegiate church of San Lorenzo, the role of ritual in Florentine social life, the history of piety, and confraternities.<sup>19</sup> In this book, I explain how ecclesiastical institutions and communities in the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century diocese of

Florence actually worked and operated on the local level. In itself, this is an important and necessary contribution to the ecclesiastical history of medieval Italy in particular and of medieval Europe in general.

This study has five significant implications for medieval ecclesiastical history. First, it situates church history at the center of the stunning developments regarding the transformation of Florence at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. The tendency to offer a sweeping judgment of the church as an obstructionist, negative, corrupting, or even peripheral force in Florentine society after 1250 needs to be rejected. Davidsohn tended to celebrate the emergence of bourgeois civility in Florence during the age of Dante, in comparison with which the church represented a corrupted, resistant, and backward-looking community. Some recent scholars continue to stress the negative. They emphasize the presence of conflict between the laity and the church hierarchy, ignore the church altogether, or condemn it for being complicit in the emergence in the fourteenth century of a system of industrial exploitation and oppression.<sup>20</sup> In these scenarios, the church (or aspects of it, such as the “hierarchy”) appears as if it were monolithic or centrally controlled. It was not. Whereas some institutions and clergy did indeed collaborate with other members of the elite to worsen the social conditions for many Florentines at this time, others responded to these rapid changes in Florence by coming to the aid of the victims. This brings us to the second major implication of this study. We cannot treat the church as if it were a single entity that spoke with one voice; it was a living, diverse, and often unruly set of communities that was as divided as the society of which it was a part.

Third, this book calls into question some of the traditional notions regarding the secular clergy in modern historiography, views that have tended to be critical and negative. Scholars have long disapproved of the behavior of the secular clergy, arguing that it helps to explain the success of the friars (the mendicant clergy). Not only did the friars fulfill the religious needs of the urban laity in ways that traditional monastic spirituality was unable to provide, according to this view, but they also offered a stark contrast to the alleged careerism, materialism, and corruption of many members of the secular clergy.<sup>21</sup> Such success, however, did not come without conflict, which played itself out in cities scattered across the continent. Recently, some historians have begun to take another look at the mendicant-secular relationship. Though there is ample evidence throughout Europe that strife existed between the secular and mendicant clergies, it is also becoming increasingly apparent that historians can exaggerate the extent of these clashes, understate the failures of the seculars, and overstate the contributions of the friars.<sup>22</sup> Such has been the case regarding Florence. In terms of solidarity with the community, members of the secular clergy, especially the parish clergy, were noteworthy. One of the major reasons why the image of the secular clergy has been so negative is that historians have tended to

neglect research on the countryside in favor of an emphasis on the city, where mendicant loyalties were strongest before the early fourteenth century. When the countryside (where the seculars prevailed) is studied alongside the city, a more balanced picture emerges, and the secular clergy appears in a more favorable light.<sup>23</sup>

The dominant voice on the Florentine secular clergy has been Robert Davidsohn (1853–1937), and this book will correct his overly negative views regarding its members and institutions. In his multivolume survey, *Geschichte von Florenz* (1899–1927), the seculars appear corrupt and greedy. The heroes of Davidsohn's story of the religious history of the Arno city—with particular regard to his views on the Florentine church—were the mendicants. In the author's eyes, they were more able to meet the spiritual needs of Florentine merchants, bankers, and manufacturers than were members of the secular clergy. In this regard Davidsohn echoed the sentiments expressed six hundred years earlier by Dante himself, who saw the seculars as corrupt and elitist, excessively materialistic and antiprogressive. Davidsohn brought to his formidable reading of the sources a liberal, democratic, and middle-class temperament that was influenced by the antifeudal and antiecclesiastical traditions of the Enlightenment.<sup>24</sup> Sympathizing with the mercantile elite of Florence, Davidsohn marveled at the ability of Florentines to establish progressive institutions of governance for a city that was fast becoming a formidable economic power.<sup>25</sup> He had few kind words for the Florentine secular clergy and its institutions. At the beginning of the section on religion and clergy, for example, he wrote, "Perhaps nowhere else than at Florence were the evils of religious life more profound." Furthermore, he observed, "To all the corruption of the secular clergy was known and evident, so much so that no one even seriously tried to justify it. It had constituted itself into a privileged class, which attempted, as any other privileged group, not only to exploit its privileges without limits, but also to avoid as much as possible its own duties."<sup>26</sup> Davidsohn was not incorrect about particular salacious details regarding certain episodes in the history of the secular and regular clergy. Nevertheless, his bias obscured the many significant contributions made by the secular (and regular) clergy to the institutional, economic, and cultural development of the city.

Fourth, this book argues that economic history should be at the center of historical discourse, not only in church history, but also in medieval historiography as a whole. A corollary of this theme is the relevance of class analysis for an understanding of premodern societies. The significant role of ecclesiastical wealth in the development of the city underscores the centrality of economic change to any understanding of the rise to prominence by Florence. Economic history unfortunately remains today one of the most neglected fields of research in medieval studies as a whole, not just in church history. Scholars in the past one hundred years traditionally have tended to follow three approaches to the study of the medieval church: the intellectual

and cultural, the institutional and political, and the social and economic. Cultural history has clearly been the dominant trend in the past generation. The cults of saints, the development of piety, confraternities, and the history of female spirituality are all issues that have energized the field of ecclesiastical history recently. However, the economic history of the medieval church still remains marginalized. Unlike thirteenth-century Italians, modern historians have tended to ignore the material bases of the medieval church. How to reconcile the conflicting demands of the ideal of the *imitatio Christi* with the material underpinnings of the institutional church was one of the great enduring themes of medieval ecclesiastical history. Florentines, as well as other Europeans, were deeply engaged in this issue. In Italy, the study of the city-state (or commune) was and continues to be the dominant focus of medieval historiography; yet, the economic dimension of the churches that constituted them seems to be invisible.<sup>27</sup> By recovering the economic past of the ecclesiastical institutions within those communes, we will be reminded of a central truth about premodern Florence that we too often tend to forget: it was a city divided by class and shaped by the conflicts associated with it. Here the church played valuable yet paradoxical roles, supporting and legitimizing the elite while also ministering to the needs of those who were not benefiting from the economic and political transformation of the city. Within its fold also were the dissenters who objected to the complicity of ecclesiastical institutions in the production of material wealth. Like the commune itself, the ideologically diverse communities of the Florentine church were also divided socially and economically along class lines.<sup>28</sup>

Fifth, this book has implications for our understanding of the early fourteenth century, a period about which historians have often disagreed. Do the early decades of the fourteenth century constitute a period of crisis, or did the economic expansion of the thirteenth century continue until the arrival of the Black Death? This study indicates that the third decade of the fourteenth century was a particularly difficult period for most members of the secular and regular clergy, economically and fiscally. By 1330 Florentines were indeed living in a city that was very different from the place in which their grandparents had lived: it was more prosperous, larger, more crowded, and more divided politically and economically. It was also much more heavily taxed, militarized, and bureaucratic than it had been a generation before. The primary cause was the cost of war.

The identification of the third decade of the fourteenth century as a crucial turning point differs from perspectives offered by previous historians of Florence. For Giovanni Villani, the year 1338 marked the height of Florentine prosperity, after which a decline occurred. More than thirty years ago Marvin Becker argued that there began in the fifth decade of the fourteenth century a major shift in the political and social culture of the city: fiscal pressures were increasing, the state was becoming more impersonal and bureaucratic, and government more oligarchic. “We must reckon with not only the failure of the

gentle *paideia* but with the emergence of a sterner set of ideals,” he wrote. “This new cluster of values which comes to the fore in the early 1340s bespeaks the rule of law and the concomitant triumph of more impersonal forms of government.” Similarly, Charles-Marie de La Roncière observed that in the middle of the fourteenth century throughout Europe papal and episcopal taxes were becoming increasingly oppressive (1340–50). Regarding the history of the Florentine church, however, as Richard Trexler has previously argued, it was during the third decade of the fourteenth century that the economic burdens placed on the clergy and their institutions by the commune and the papacy had become particularly onerous.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, at the same time, some ecclesiastical communities were chafing under the load of legal expenses, caused in part by efforts designed to resist papal encroachments on local privileges. The recognition that financial burdens became particularly heavy in the 1320s implies that the harsh economic pressures of the fourteenth century began for many Florentines much earlier than the period that Marvin Becker and Charles de La Roncière had previously described. Those most affected were the parish clergy and their parishioners: the *popolo minuto* and the poor in the city, and the lower and middle ranks of the peasantry in the countryside. The cost of war was placing a disproportionate financial burden on the middle and lower ranks of the population. By 1330, Florentine church history—if not Florentine history as a whole—had entered a new phase.

### Sources, Structure, and Scope

The primary sources available to us to tell the story of the Florentine church include episcopal, papal, and monastic records, as well as chronicles, notarial protocols, literary texts, lease books, saints’ lives, descriptions of ritual processions and religious feast days, testaments, and painted images. These sources can tell us about the institutional and economic history of ecclesiastical institutions, but unfortunately, they reveal very little about pastoral care, liturgy, and sacramental life. For those issues we have to turn to testaments and wills (at least six hundred survive for the period 1250–1330), saints’ lives, the episcopal constitutions of 1310 and 1327, and liturgical texts. The ecclesiastical and state archives have preserved most of these documents from the ecclesiastical past of Florence. The archiepiscopal archive in Florence contains numerous books filled with copies of official documents (notarial protocols) that lay bare the economic, institutional, social, and cultural history of the bishopric. In particular, there are several lease books that begin in the late thirteenth century, a comprehensive register of the episcopal estate organized by locality (the *Bullettone* of 1323), liturgical books, and a few scattered parchments. For the cathedral chapter, the Archivio del Capitolo di Firenze contains the Carte Stroziane, hundreds of dusty single sheet and multiple sheet rolled parchments, organized and cataloged by Carlo Strozzi centuries ago and preserved on shelves in a tall wooden cabinet

(*armadio*). They provide essential information about the institutional and economic development of the cathedral chapter. Also found in this archive is the Libro Rosso, a notarial protocol containing copies of leases of cathedral chapter property dating from 1326, and a book of the chapter secretary in 1300, Giovanni dei Machiavelli, containing information about the administration of chapter property. For the collegiate parish of San Lorenzo, the Archivio di San Lorenzo in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana contains hundreds of rolled or single sheet parchments associated with the institutional, economic, and spiritual history of that institution. Aside from these unpublished records, we have published texts of the episcopal constitutions of the early fourteenth century (1310 and 1327), the fourteenth-century chronicles of Giovanni Villani, Dino Compagni, and Marchionne Stefani, and urban statutes associated with ecclesiastical affairs. Furthermore, there are numerous texts and documents published by the eighteenth-century antiquarians Giovanni Lami and Ferdinando Ughelli.

There are about two hundred volumes of notarial protocols left by local Florentine notaries in the state archive, the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, for the period between 1250 and 1330. They contain copies of testaments, leases of church property, records of local ecclesiastical elections and conflicts, and miscellaneous documents connected with the office of the heresy inquisition at Santa Croce. The richest source for a study of the regular clergy and monasteries of the city and the countryside is in the *fondo Diplomatico* in the state archive, a collection containing hundreds of rolled parchments tied with string. Finally, the *Conventi soppressi*, a source collection of parchments and notarial protocols associated with the history of monasteries and convents, assembled during the Napoleonic suppression of the monasteries, also contains important records associated with the regular clergy in both the countryside and the city. They include records of leases, rent payments, elections, and the proceedings of legal cases before episcopal and papal courts.<sup>30</sup>

To recover the religious and ecclesiastical past of medieval Florence, the book consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 illustrates the institutional development of the Florentine church from the mid-thirteenth century to the second quarter of the fourteenth. Chapter 2 provides a social profile of Florentine churchmen and churchwomen, focusing on the bishopric, the cathedral chapter, the chapter of San Lorenzo, and selected parishes and monasteries. An economic history of those institutions in both city and countryside follows in Chapter 3. Piety, ritual, and heresy is the center of attention in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 considers the impact of ecclesiastical and religious practices on the direction of Florentine politics and culture, especially the role played by ritual, saints' cults, and processions in the legitimization of the post-1282 elite and the formation of the Florentine territorial dominion.



Immigration, burgeoning wealth, new structures of governance, and worsening poverty—these were some of the primary aspects of Florentine society that form the backdrop for the story told in this book. Yet, surprisingly, before 1250 the institutional and economic growth of Florence was far behind that of other Tuscan cities, particularly Lucca and Pisa. All of this changed after midcentury. About 350,000 people lived in the varied landscapes of the two dioceses of Florence and Fiesole around 1300. It was one of the largest concentrations of people in Europe at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. Florentines themselves were acutely aware of the intense pressures imposed on civic life by such a large population. According to the thirteenth-century Franciscan chronicler Salimbene, for example, the Florentines pleaded with the preacher and purported miracle-worker John of Vicenza to stay away from their city. He was supposedly famous for his ability to raise the dead, and the Florentines were terrified he might add even more numbers to the burgeoning population. Florence was already overpopulated as it was, and its local grain reserves were sufficient for only five months a year. In 1338, a decade before the plague, the population of the city of Florence may well have been 120,000. In comparative terms, it was double the population of Siena and Pisa and triple that of Lucca. In the countryside the pattern of demographic growth and decline mirrored that of the city. The apex of population growth in the *contado* occurred in the late thirteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

To maintain order and stability in a city undergoing extensive demographic and social change, the Florentines developed a remarkable set of governing institutions that evolved in complex ways over a span of eighty years. Their direct jurisdictional influence, however, went no further than their late twelfth-century walls until the late thirteenth century. In the countryside, urban influence was weak (and virtually nonexistent before 1200). Only by the end of the thirteenth century were urban magistrates able and willing to govern the hinterland directly.<sup>32</sup> The three principal magistracies—the consulate, the *podesteria*, and the priorate—all met in fortress-like towers in the central parishes of the city. The chronological evolution of the architectural styles of these three buildings—the small and narrow tower of the Castagna where the consuls met, the large square fortress of the Bargello (1255) that was the home of the captain of the people (*capitano del popolo*) and the *podestà*, and the monumentally grand but stark Palazzo della Signoria, where the priors began meeting after 1300—defined the principal stages in the development of the commune as it transformed itself from a provincial city of 65,000 into an international powerhouse of more than 100,000 souls.

Appearing first in the documents in Florence in 1138, the magistracy of the consulate presided over two citizens' assemblies: a general assembly and a *parlamentum*. Composed of members of the “consular” aristocracy, these



institutions appeared in Florence later than they did in most other cities.<sup>33</sup> The emergence of merchant guilds, first documented in 1192, added to the complex political fabric of the city on the Arno. In 1193, a year later, the office of the *podestà* appeared. This magistracy, always staffed by a foreigner, tried to prevent the increasingly intense factional conflicts from erupting into street battles and to resolve the disputes that did.<sup>34</sup> During the conflict between Frederick II (1215–50) and the papacy for hegemony in Italy, those members of the ruling elite who identified with the interests of the emperor became known as Ghibellines. Guelfs were those who believed that an alliance with the papacy was the most effective means to advance their political interests. Their clash, according to Florentine legend, first emerged in 1216 after the murder of a member of the Buondelmonti family by members of the Arrighi and Uberti lineages. The terms “Guelf” and “Ghibelline,” however, first appeared in the sources in the 1240s. Prosperous urban nonnobles (the *popolo*), especially those merchants and guildsmen benefiting from the economic boom, demanded a greater role in the governance of the city from the traditional knighted aristocracy (the consular aristocracy). By 1250 a Guelf army had defeated Ghibellines at Figline, and the victors established a new regime in Florence known as the Primo Popolo (1250–60). Now a new executive officer emerged to govern the city alongside the *podestà*: the captain of the people (*capitano del popolo*). Ruling with him were the twenty-four elders, or *Anziani*, who first appeared in the sources in 1253.<sup>35</sup>

Around 1255, the Florentines began to construct a fortress-like residence (the Bargello) for the captain of the people, the leader of the militias loyal to the nonnoble elites of the city. Most likely modeled after the Palazzo dei Priori in the commune of Volterra, the structure was only a short walk from the Tower of the Chestnut Tree, the *torre della Castagna*. After the battle of Montaperti in 1260, when Sienese Ghibellines defeated the army of the Florentines on the bank of the Arbia River and ended the reign of the Primo Popolo, the Bargello became the official residence of the *podestà*.<sup>36</sup> For the next several years the Ghibellines controlled the city. On April 17, 1267, Charles of Anjou, the youngest brother of the king of France and imperial vicar acting on behalf of Pope Clement IV (1265–68), appeared before the gates of the city with his Guelf allies. The Ghibellines fled, many into exile in the Apennines.<sup>37</sup> The Florentines thereafter established strong economic and political ties with the Angevin monarchy in Naples and with the papacy, the two axes of Guelf power in southern and central Italy. Florentine bankers and merchants served both the papacy and the king of Naples, while, at the same time, they extended their economic reach into the northern kingdoms of England and France.<sup>38</sup> Among those members of prosperous mercantile families swearing allegiance to the papacy and to the Guelf cause were the Cerchi, a family that produced one of the most saintly and charismatic Florentines of the thirteenth century, Umiliana. The Cerchi also had helped

bankroll the expedition of Charles of Anjou into Italy.<sup>39</sup>

In the 1270s an escalation of factional violence occurred within the Guelf elite. Seeking to end the conflicts, the papacy sent Cardinal Malabranca Latino in 1279 to heal the divisions. In 1280 he issued a new constitution and created a new institution, the magistracy of the Fourteen (Quattordici). This magistracy was the first to designate those knighted members of the aristocracy identified as troublemakers as “magnates,” and for the first time in 1281 the commune required them to post bond for their good behavior.<sup>40</sup> When the Sicilians rose up in rebellion a year later in 1282 and overthrew the Angevin regime, Florentine guildsmen seized the opportunity to create a more effective and representative government that they hoped would end the factional divisions and create a more stable business climate.

In 1282 the ruling families of the city created the magistracy of the priorate, composed of six priors who represented the recently created six districts of the city. Status and prestige within the commune henceforth depended on guild membership, not knighthood. In the 1280s, Florence was now engaged in a struggle with the Ghibelline communes of Arezzo and Pisa for hegemony in Tuscany. At the battle of Campaldino (1289), the Florentine troops, among whom might have been Dante himself, eliminated Arezzo as a rival in eastern Tuscany. During the last two decades of the thirteenth century, the priorate passed a series of important laws designed to curb the factional violence of the magnates. The key events were the passage of the 1286 law, which identified magnate status with knighthood, and the 1293 Ordinances of Justice, which attempted to prevent and punish magnate violence by holding members of the magnate lineages accountable for disturbances of the public peace. These ordinances, reissued in a revised form in 1295, clearly marked the final step by which membership in a guild replaced knighthood as the principal criterion for elite status. This legislation also created a seventh prior, the standardbearer of justice (*vexillifer iustitiae*).<sup>41</sup> By 1302, the priors were meeting in the new Palazzo dei Priori, located on the recently cleared piazza where once had stood the towers of prominent Ghibelline families (see Map 2).<sup>42</sup>

The creation of the priorate was a pivotal development in Florentine history; yet it still lacked the legitimacy in the eyes of the governed needed to stabilize a society undergoing tremendous economic change. Factional disputes intensified in the last decade of the thirteenth century and the first decade of the fourteenth. In the opening decades of the fourteenth century, Florence also faced military threats from Pisa and from Lucca. Enraged by the political marginalization caused by the ordinances, the magnates struck back at *the popolo* by exiling their principal spokesperson, Giano della Bella, in 1295. However, not all the magnate lineages supported that measure. For instance, although the Cerchi appear on the lists of magnates in 1293, they chose not to strike out against Giano della Bella. By 1300 there were two factions of magnates and their allies, the Whites (led by the Cerchi) and the

Blacks (led by the Donati).<sup>43</sup> Though both Guelph, the Whites tended to be pro-imperial, and the Blacks aligned themselves with the papacy. Pope Boniface VIII promoted the Blacks and their leader, Corso Donati, to increase his influence over the affairs of the Guelph city. The Whites, led by Vieri dei Cerchi, took brief control of the city in 1301. By the end of the year the Blacks were back, and the Whites (including the poet Dante) were out in 1302. The Blacks then split among themselves into two factions: one led by Corso Donati; the other by Rosso della Tosa. Invited by the exiled Ghibellines and Whites to take the city, Emperor Henry VII besieged it in 1312 but failed. Soon the commune was facing new military and political challenges from the west, first from Pisa in the person of Uguccione della Faggiuola (d. 1319), and later from Lucca and its champion Castruccio Castracane (d. 1328). To deal with the first threat the commune conferred a virtual dictatorship on King Robert of Naples, only to lose to the Pisans at Montecatini in 1315. In 1325 the government chose the Angevin Charles of Calabria in 1325 to rule the commune. In that same year the Lucchese defeated a Florentine army at Altopascio. The death of Castruccio three years later effectively removed the last major impediment to the consolidation of Florentine regional hegemony.

The factional violence within Florence, a series of serious grain shortages, and the military operations outside the city—particularly in the Arno Valley to the west and in the Mugello to the north—caused suffering, damage to property, and widespread economic distress in the first three decades of the fourteenth century. When the former exile Corso Donati entered the city in 1301, the Whites, fearing for their lives, hid in their friends' houses. As an eyewitness (Dino Compagni) wrote, "One enemy attacked the other; houses were set on fire, robberies were committed, and belongings fled from the homes of the powerless. The powerful Blacks extorted money from the Whites; they married young girls by force; they killed men." It was civil war, and it spread into the countryside. In late December 1301, Stefano de Broy, acting as vicar general for Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, wrote the nuns of Rosano in the diocese of Fiesole that they could go wherever they wanted in order to be safe. The reason? The "disturbances and crises of war" (*propterurbationes et guerrarum discrimina*) in Florence and its countryside. "With the aid of the Ubaldini, the Whites and Ghibellines opened war in the Mugello," wrote Dino Compagni of the disorder beginning to engulf the entire region. At Monte Accenico the Whites gathered in 1303, hoping to launch an invasion of the city. Instead, as the Blacks advanced on them, they retreated, only to be slaughtered. Local peasants took control of the northern passes leading into the Mugello, killing or taking many of them prisoner. Larciano, located in the Mugello, was so affected by warfare that the canons of the collegiate church of Santa Felicita were unable to supervise an election to appoint a new archpriest. When Florence faced military threats from Pisa and Lucca several years later, the Arno valley became a virtual battlefield. These early years of the century witnessed severe food shortages, with the years

1303, 1305, and 1328–30 being particularly difficult. A severe grain shortage in 1328 led in 1329 to one of the worst years of the century. Events like these made some contemporaries clearly wonder whether Florence was indeed a chosen city of God. Noting that a vermilion cross had appeared one evening over the palace of the priors, Dino Compagni observed that he and others understood “that God was firmly set against our tormented city.<sup>44</sup>

Throughout the years between 1250 and 1329, however, the machinery of government continued to evolve as the urban elite consolidated its control over territory (*contado*) surrounding the city. A complex network of five councils of magistrates governed the city. By 1329, in a bid to make governance more efficient, the ruling elite had replaced those five councils with two. Assisting the priors were two colleges: the twelve (*buoni uomini*, first created in 1321) and the nineteen *gonfalonieri* of the military companies. Collectively, the priors, the twelve *buoni uomini*, and the nineteen *gonfalonieri* constituted the principal magistracy of Florence, the Signoria, and its members met regularly in the Palazzo dei Priori. In 1328 the government introduced the scrutiny (*scrutinio*), a system by which officials chose eligible men to fill the positions of the commune. The eight decades between 1250 and 1330 were also among the most formative in the history of Florence with regard to the creation of a regional *dominium*, a politically unified territory under urban control.<sup>45</sup> Before the middle of the fourteenth century, urban control of the countryside was limited and sporadic. In contrast to Lucca, Pisa, and Arezzo, before the end of the thirteenth century, the ruling elite of Florence apparently controlled very little rural property. Urban consular courts did not extend into the countryside. The only urban landlords with significant amounts of property in the countryside were the ecclesiastical lords.<sup>46</sup>

By the middle of the thirteenth century the central organizational unit of the countryside was the *piviere* (territory associated with a baptismal church), and there were ninety-six of them in the territory of Florence during the Primo Popolo. Each *piviere* was divided for administrative purposes into parishes, or *popoli*. In the second half of the thirteenth century local inhabitants were electing their own rectors to serve for a year in office. Between 1275 and 1300, Florentine magistrates began to assume positions of direct governance in specific areas: *podestà* of local communities, supervisors of roads (*custodiae*), vicars (military commanders), and castellans (officers in charge of *castelli*, castles or fortified villages). Even in this period, however, there was no policy aimed at direct rule. Most of the management of the territory focused on the control of strategic roads and rural communes. In the early fourteenth century we encounter for the first time vicars and military captains appointed by Florence to command local militias. Only by the fourth decade of that century does a true territorial dominion (*districtus*) begin to exist. Even after the 1340s, however, urban control remained very tenuous in many areas of the countryside.<sup>47</sup>

## The Religious Topography of Medieval Florence

In the course of our story about the Florentine church, we will encounter at different points along the way four individuals whose lives exemplified some of the principal themes of its development: Umiliana dei Cerchi (d. 1246), a widowed and ascetic member of a prosperous family who lived most of her life in her family tower in central Florence; Stefano de Broy (d. circa 1330), an upwardly mobile cleric with close connections to the papacy who became one of the most powerful and wealthy clergymen in the city; Pietro Olivi (1248/ 49–98), the Franciscan professor (*lector*) at Santa Croce between 1287 and 1289; and Bene di Nero, a man from the Arno Valley east of the city at Ripoli who had worked his way up through the clerical ranks to become the archpriest of the wealthiest church in the countryside.<sup>48</sup> As the economy expanded and civic leaders were able to assert more direct control over the immediate countryside, the ecclesiastical topography of the city that Umiliana, Stefano de Broy, and Bene di Nero knew so well was undergoing a dramatic transformation. Urban planning and civic subsidies, the need to provide more space for the growing population, and increasing ecclesiastical wealth (especially among the mendicant orders) helped generate several major ecclesiastical construction projects (see “Chronology of Significant Events Mentioned in Text”).

The city in which the sainted Umiliana dei Cerchi lived was a crowded and constricted place, where the stone towers of the urban aristocracy loomed over a dark maze of narrow streets. The most noticeable ecclesiastical centers in the middle of the thirteenth century were three: the cathedral-Baptistery complex,<sup>49</sup> located just inside the northern segment of the city walls and surrounded by numerous tombs; the eleventh- and twelfth-century Romanesque basilica of San Miniato al Monte, which dominated the city from its perch on a ridge south of the river; and, to the northwest of the Baptistery—but still within the circle of city walls—the large basilica of San Lorenzo. This ancient, brick-faced collegiate church, the cathedral of the city since before 500, was rapidly becoming the largest parish in the city in the course of the thirteenth century, serving a growing population of immigrants from the countryside.

The religious center of the city—the Baptistery of San Giovanni and the cathedral of Santa Reparata—would have looked very different to Umiliana from what a contemporary observer encounters today. Located just a short walk northward from the Cerchi family tower, this area in 1250 was densely packed with buildings and tombs. There was little of the open space that greets the visitor today. With its two Romanesque side chapels that formed a vast transept, the cathedral, already at least two hundred years old in 1240, was about fifty feet narrower than the present structure (Duomo). Inside, Umiliana would have found a three-aisled nave and an elevated presbytery and a crypt, both at the eastern end. Whereas the high altar was associated

with Santa Reparata, the altar in the crypt was connected with Saint Zenobius, the legendary founder of the diocese. These were not the only altars in 1230; at least six more existed in this Romanesque structure, dedicated to Mark, Luke, Matthew, John the Evangelist, the Virgin Mary, and Thomas à Becket. Adjacent to the cathedral to its south were the cemetery of the cathedral chapter and the canonry (residence of the cathedral canons). Between the Baptistry and the cathedral and slightly to their north was the hospital of San Giovanni Evangelista, founded in the eleventh century (later destroyed, in 1296, to make room for the new cathedral). The western end of the original Santa Reparata was fourteen meters closer to the Baptistry in the mid-thirteenth century than the cathedral is today.<sup>50</sup> In the decades after Umiliana's death, ecclesiastical institutions were experiencing rapid growth and development. Fifty noncollegiate parish churches were scattered throughout the city, and fifteen collegiate churches served as local parishes to their communities.

The changes in the ecclesiastical landscape of the city in the second half of the thirteenth century were stunning and impressive. Umiliana dei Cerchi in her tower undoubtedly would have marveled at the number of immigrants beginning to settle in the city and at the groups of friars anchoring their communities in already existing churches. The Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites established themselves outside the walls in the burgeoning eastern, northwestern, and southwestern suburbs of the city. The Franciscans found refuge at Santa Croce (first mentioned in 1225), and the Dominicans at Santa Maria Novella (acquired around 1221). By the middle of the century a fresh wave of mendicants had settled on the outskirts of the city. Other groups of friars followed the companions of Saints Francis and Dominic from the countryside into Florence, apparently encouraged by the government of the Primo Popolo to settle in the areas of greatest demographic expansion. Both the Austin Friars, who came from the suburban San Matteo in Arcetri, and the Servites, who came down from their mountaintop perch at Monte Senario north of Florence, created urban communities in 1250. Several more sets of friars arrived shortly thereafter; specifically, the Umiliati (1251), the friars of the Order of Penitence of Jesus Christ (male tertiaries), and the Saccati (1259). The Austin friars and the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin from Mount Carmel (Carmelites, 1268) went to the underpopulated area of the city south of the river, the Oltrarno.<sup>51</sup>

One of the most significant developments in the middle of the thirteenth century was the emergence of a community of female penitents near the Franciscan friary of Santa Croce. These were elite Florentine women who sought to devote themselves to a life of penitence near the grave of the sainted Umiliana.<sup>52</sup> As this community was forming, the inquisition against heresy moved in 1254 from the Dominican friary of Santa Maria Novella to the Franciscan friary of Santa Croce. In 1255, as immigrants from the countryside were crowding the northern suburbs outside the twelfth-century walls, the

bishop of Florence began the process of selling some of his land north of the city (in the area called the Cafaggio). Though the commune coveted the land to facilitate growth, the bishop readily sold the property both to develop rental housing and shops in the central and northern parishes and to pay for his subsidies of papal military campaigns against imperial forces in southern Italy.<sup>53</sup> The arrival of new mendicant communities, a vibrant and active land market in ecclesiastical property, the growing inadequacy of the cathedral to serve the needs of a burgeoning population, and the expanding presence of female and male tertiary communities were some of the most salient features of the ecclesiastical landscape in midcentury.

Established in 1246, Santa Maria Novella underwent continuous construction until its completion in the early fourteenth century. In 1250 it still lacked the impressively large transepts and choir that exist today, as construction started only after 1279. In front of Santa Maria Novella (and later Santa Croce), the demolition of old structures and the clearing of streets and buildings were making room for the new public spaces (*piazze*) meant to accommodate the large numbers of people who were coming to hear the friars preach.<sup>54</sup> The Santa Croce that the professor Pietro Olivi knew when he taught there between 1287 and 1289 was not the basilica we recognize today. Indeed, construction on the large structure that dominates Florence today began in 1294 or 1295, five or six years after Olivi had already left the Arno city to teach at Montpellier. The church with which he was familiar was much smaller and over half a century old at the time Olivi was teaching in Florence. The craftsman in charge of the cathedral, the Badia (begun in 1284), and Santa Croce was Arnolfo di Cambio (d. 1302), the master architect and sculptor.<sup>55</sup>

By 1320, the ecclesiastical geography of the Florence that the archpriest Bene di Nero and the cathedral canon Stefano de Broy would have recognized was radically different from that of the city of Umiliana dei Cerchi. By then the priors of the city were already meeting in the massive Palazzo Vecchio (Palazzo dei Priori), completed five years earlier in 1315 after six years of constant construction. This massive symbol of state power overlooked a vast piazza, laid over the foundations of the towers of the Ghibelline Uberti that had stood in the first half of the previous century to the north of the present Palazzo Vecchio.<sup>56</sup> Every major church structure in 1320 seemed to be under construction. The Santa Maria Novella we see today, with its cruciform plan and its four chapels flanking the choir, was finished by the early fourteenth century. At the end of the thirteenth century, the church of the Carmelites in the Oltrarno (the south bank of the Arno) was only half completed, and the convent had only one wing and a very rudimentary cloister. Yet, had Bene or Stefano entered the refectory of that incomplete convent, they would have found frescoes already on the walls.<sup>57</sup> The new building of Santa Croce, begun in 1294/95 and originally designed by Arnolfo di Cambio, had ten flanking chapels instead of four. Like its Dominican counterpart, it bore the



strong imprint of Cistercian structures in Burgundy. The architects had finished several aisles by 1326, but the nave would take another seventy-five years to be completed. Bene di Nero, had he entered the friary in 1320, would have seen the two recently completed chapels of the Bardi (the family of his nemesis) and Peruzzi, replete with the frescoes about the life of Saint Francis by Giotto (Bardi) that tourists visit today. Furthermore, he would have found that the walls and pavements of the friary, respectively, were sheathed with banners and packed with funerary monuments.<sup>58</sup>

The most important of the ecclesiastical construction projects in the city focused on the cathedral of Santa Reparata, a church whose presence in the city went back to at least 500. Plans to renovate and enlarge Santa Reparata had begun as early as 1285, but by the middle of the 1290s civic leaders had decided to build a new structure entirely. The bishop, Francesco Monaldeschi, laid the cornerstone for the new cathedral in the late summer of 1296. Arnolfo di Cambio had been the principal designer (*capomaestro*), but he had died by 1302. By 1320, there had been very little work on the structure for the previous fifteen years or so. The reasons were civil wars within the city, military threats from the outside, and severe pressures on the communal budget. Only the façade was being worked on. By 1320, the cathedral canon Stefano de Broy, who owned significant urban properties near and around the cathedral complex, was living next to a structure, still partially completed, that was slowly rising around the old Romanesque church of Santa Reparata. Eighteen years after the death of Arnolfo and the exile of Dante in 1302, only a small portion of that new cathedral was finished. The porch, two bays, and the façade of Santa Reparata were probably the first sections of the old structure to be dismantled in 1293 or 1294. Inside Santa Reparata in 1320, Stefano would have been able to pray at the eight separate altars. By 1375, a generation after Stefano's death in 1330, Santa Reparata had been completely torn down.<sup>59</sup> The bell tower, or campanile, from which many modern tourists now get a bird's-eye view of the city, was not even in existence in 1320. Designed by Giotto and begun in 1334, only the first portion of the base was finished by the time of his death in 1337 (see [Figure 1](#)). We can see the unfinished state of the cathedral in the 1342 fresco of the city in the Bigallo, where the new façade is clearly visible (see [Figure 2](#)). It would be another century before the most noticeable highlight of the modern Florentine skyline would emerge: the red-tiled cathedral dome (*cupola*) designed by Filippo Brunelleschi, crowning a structure that could accommodate thirty thousand worshippers.<sup>60</sup> Constantly in a state of formation and construction, the rich ecclesiastical landscape of Dante's city reflected the newly elevated status of Florence as one of the foremost cities of Europe. The rising structure of the new cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, the crown jewel of the Florentine church, was its symbol.





Figure 1. The bell tower of Santa Maria del Fiore, the cathedral in Florence, begun by Giotto di Bondone in 1334. G. Dameron.

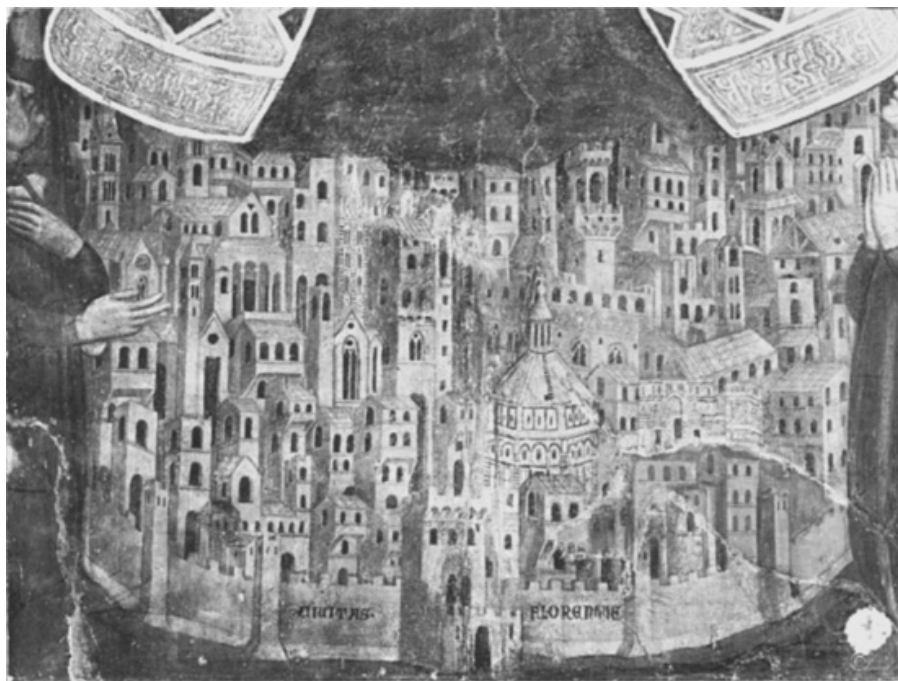


Figure 2. Anonymous, fourteenth century. Panorama of Florence, detail from the Madonna della Misericordia fresco at the Loggia del Bigallo, Florence. Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

# 1

## *Institutions*

In the late winter of 1322, the vicar general of the cathedral chapter of the Florentine church, Ranieri (also prior of Santo Stefano di Lucignano), confirmed Presbyter Bene di Nero as the new archpriest of the baptismal parish church (*pieve*) of Santa Maria Impruneta. Bene had previously served as one of five canons of Santa Maria Impruneta as well as rector of San Lorenzo di Castrobonizzi. The confirmation took place in the small Romanesque urban church of San Salvatore adjacent to the episcopal palace, the site where the episcopal court normally met. Later that same day, several miles to the southeast, the four canons of Impruneta, along with a chaplain (*cappellanus*) and two members of their staff (*familiars*), processed into the church of Impruneta and made their way to the altar. There, the new archpriest took possession of the liturgical books and altar cloths as the sound of bells resonated throughout the countryside and the words of the *Te Deum* echoed throughout the sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> The ceremony that marked Bene's elevation to the office of archpriest was repeated on numerous occasions in various localities throughout the eighty-year span of this book. These rituals constituted traditions of stability, permanence, and predictability—an enduring legacy that Florentine ecclesiastics brought to their local communities.<sup>2</sup>

Ecclesiastical institutions provided leadership, charity, and social stability in both city and countryside, contributing to the transformation of Florence into one of the most powerful and influential cities in Europe. They also addressed the needs of those who had been excluded from the new prosperity. Regarding local administration in both city and countryside, ecclesiastical institutions offered models of leadership in governance, peacemaking and dispute resolution, intellectual and cultural life, charitable giving, and ecclesiastical patronage. Simultaneously, as the institutions of the upper hierarchy became increasingly important politically and strategically to the papacy and to the wider European church, they became proportionately more influential and prominent in continental political affairs. Until the early fourteenth century, ecclesiastical institutions constituted the most sophisticated and extensive administrative structure linking the city with its surrounding countryside, especially since effective jurisdiction by urban consular courts was lacking.<sup>3</sup> Members of the secular clergy in particular provided model leadership in peacemaking, as they served as arbitrators,

intermediaries, and witnesses in peace pacts in small- as well as large-scale disputes.<sup>4</sup> Scholars have correctly stressed the importance of the peacemaking activities of the friars in the cities, but members of the secular clergy like Bene di Nero at Impruneta also deserve attention. Regarding education and intellectual leadership, the two largest friaries in the commune became noted centers of learning. The emerging reputations of the *studia generali* at Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella, and the people who taught there, most notably Pietro Olivi and Remigio dei Girolami, made Florence one of the foremost intellectual centers of Europe.

As distributors of charity and sources of social support, the secular clergy, the hospitals, and the confraternities in both city and countryside helped maintain order and stability as the commune was experiencing the potentially destabilizing effects of economic and demographic growth. These communities took care of the most vulnerable members of society, those displaced or marginalized by the processes of industrialization in the city and by structural economic change in the countryside. Furthermore, they provided safe havens, economic support, charity, and hospices for the “surplus” population of the city as well as the hard-pressed residents of the countryside. As such, they were important sources of shelter and assistance in a world threatened by dearth, overpopulation, and the kind of economic change that created both losers and winners. At the same time, the growing importance to the papacy of the most prestigious of the Florentine ecclesiastical institutions gradually conferred on the Florentine church an influential voice in papal politics. Top ecclesiastical offices offered opportunities for members of the ruling elite to move into positions of influence and power in European ecclesiastical politics. The expanding frequency of papal provisions, both a consequence and a cause of growing Florentine economic and political prominence in the world, thrust Florentine ecclesiastical institutions and those within them into positions of leadership and influence within the universal church.<sup>5</sup>

To understand the role of the Florentine church in the transformation of Florence between 1250 and 1330, it is appropriate first to examine its institutional structures and the relations between them. A century ago, Robert Davidsohn wrote that conflict between and within these institutions was the rule rather than the exception. To him it was just one more aspect of the general rot of corruption that beset clerical life.<sup>6</sup> This perspective is not supported by the evidence. There were indeed myriad clashes, conflicts, and controversies throughout the two generations covered by this book. The most frequent causes of disputes were papal provisions, appointments to ecclesiastical offices, jurisdictional conflicts between the friars and the secular clergy, the White-Black factional struggle (after 1300), ecclesiastical patronage rights, papal and communal taxation, and the exercise of pastoral rights (which caused disputes over parochial boundaries). Many churchmen fought over access to income or property that derived from such pastoral

rights as tithes, mortuary dues (or burial offerings), offerings (oblations), testamentary legacies, and vestments.<sup>7</sup> In the upper hierarchy, the conflicts were more likely related to papal provisions, family or individual ambitions, the White-Black dispute, and patronage rights. For the lower ranks of the secular clergy, taxation by the papacy and the commune, disputes over pastoral rights between parishes, and disagreements between the secular and the mendicant clergy were the most frequent causes of tension.

As often as these conflicts occurred, they were not signs of social disfunction. Rather, they constituted social processes that channeled and reconciled, if not contained, competing interests and constituencies in such a way that change could take place without social disintegration. As Edward Muir has written recently of early modern Italy, “The community, by this definition, is less an abstract moral entity than the public representation of private arrangements. Public institutions structured the competition among family and factions to exert influence that served their own interests.”<sup>8</sup> Legal procedures therefore functioned primarily to generate compromises and promote managed change. Their purpose was not to pursue an abstract notion of justice. Let’s look at an example of how this worked in the real world.

Between 1322 and 1332 two men—Presbyter Bene di Nero, canon of the *pieve* of Impruneta, and Federico dei Bardi, canon of the cathedral chapter of Florence—fought a long legal battle over who had the legitimate right to the office of archpriest of Impruneta, the wealthiest *pieve* outside Florence. This clash exacerbated a conflict between two of the most powerful families in Florence, the Buondelmonti and the Bardi families, and provoked a conflict between two major institutions, the commune and the papacy. In 1319, the same year that Federico received an expectative for the next significant ecclesiastical opening, violence erupted between the two rival families as pitched battles took place on the outskirts of Florence. In the piazza at Sezzata in the diocese of Fiesole, the twin brother of Federico, Filippo dei Bardi, attacked maliciously with his sword three Buondelmonti, wounding at least one. Another fight erupted between members of the two families at San Gaggio, south of Florence. Federico dei Bardi’s claim to Impruneta in 1322 only heightened the tensions between the two lineages. Florentine officials were now faced with a major threat to stability. After having supported the Buondelmonti after Bene’s appointment in 1322, the *podestà* of Florence found himself excommunicated by Jacopo dei Frescobaldi, prior of San Jacopo d’Oltrarno, who had acted on behalf of the papacy. The rupture between the commune and the papacy (supported by the bishop) continued for another ten years, and during that period there was more bloodshed and more harsh words of condemnation. When the bishop and a papal representative eventually tried to take possession of Impruneta, for example, they were met at the church by knights and archers. According to the chronicler Villani, the papal legate in Tuscany imposed an interdict on the city in May of 1331 because the city elite had refused to allow Santa Maria Impruneta to be

integrated into the papal patronage network. The Badia was already under papal protection, Villani observed, and Florentine citizens (*cittadini*) did not wish the papacy to appropriate other major local ecclesiastical sinecures. The chronicler makes it clear this was a conflict between the papacy (through the papal legate in Tuscany) on one hand, and the Buondelmonti (and ultimately, the commune of Florence), on the other. Among the excommunicated and interdicted were the commune, the Buondelmonti, a son of Giovanni Villani, and the chapter of Impruneta, including Bene di Nero.

Finally, in 1332 the papal legate, Giovanni degli Orsini, and representatives of the Buondelmonti worked out a compromise that lifted the interdict from Florence while also apparently guaranteeing the Buondelmonti access to some of the income of the *pieve*.<sup>9</sup> Though expensive, divisive, and long, the conflict between Bene and Federico had ultimately allowed various constituencies to sort out their differences over time, to preserve their honor, and to gain something in the end that they had all desired. The ultimate resolution of this dispute also confirms a salient point about Florentine ecclesiastical history around 1330: the Florentine church was no longer a local church; rather, it was part of a much larger, continentwide patronage network with the papacy at the head. The transition from a local, provincial church into a major player in European ecclesiastical politics did not come without conflict and tension, but by 1332 that process was almost complete.

## The Secular Clergy

Throughout the seven decades of this study, as the church became increasingly important to papal and communal interests, the secular clergy fulfilled responsibilities of temporal and spiritual leadership and social assistance within their local communities. They did so within a parochial structure that had been in place for over a century. We now have a significant amount of information about ecclesiastical institutions in Europe and in other Tuscan communes, including Pistoia, Prato, Siena, Lucca, and Pisa, with which we can make comparisons.

Whereas England and Wales consisted of twenty-one dioceses (seventeen in England and four in Wales), Italy had many times that number. Each Italian diocese was normally much smaller geographically than the typical English one. Indeed, in the case of York, the diocese could span several counties. Italian dioceses were, however, more populated, and the dioceses of Fiesole and Florence were two of the most crowded on the Italian peninsula. The multiplicity and small size of most Italian dioceses resulted from a variety of historical factors, embedded deep in the historical past of late antiquity. Diocesan borders tended to follow Roman road networks, river valleys, and ancient administrative lines around towns and cities. Tuscan dioceses in particular varied widely in both shape and size.<sup>10</sup> Among the largest dioceses were Arezzo, Florence, and Volterra, and the smallest included Massa

Marittima and Siena.

From north to south the diocese of Florence was about fifty miles long, and its east-west distance was about half that (see Map 1). To its east was the smaller but similarly shaped diocese of Fiesole. It was approximately sixty kilometers from north to south and twenty from east to west. Oriented in a northeastern direction, these two dioceses extended from the fertile Elsa River Valley to the lofty Apennines, encompassing a wide variety of landscapes. In the south were the densely populated and fertile vine- and olive-covered plateaus and forested ridges rising above the Elsa and Pesa River Valleys. To the north and east was the steep Apennine spine, whose valleys were important strategically and economically to the communes of Florence and Fiesole. The Mugello, the lush and heavily populated valley of the Sieve north of the city, was one of the key sources of food grain to the city of 90,000. West of the city, the flat plain that constituted the Arno Valley (Valdarno) served as another principal breadbasket for Florence. To the west of the city was the diocese of Pistoia. The absence of any significant geographical obstructions between the city and sea made its western frontier an inviting invasion route for enemies. In the early fourteenth century its lush plains were the battle-worn sites of numerous clashes between Florence and the armies of its Ghibelline enemies, Pisa and Lucca. From the Arno plain in the west to the Sieve River Valley in the east, and from the snowcapped Apennines in the north to the Chianti hills in the south, this trapezoid-shaped diocese enclosed hundreds of distinctive ecclesiastical communities. To understand the nature of the institutional organization of the secular clergy who served in this diocese, we must begin with the local parish priest.

Priests had important temporal and pastoral responsibilities in their communities, but the most important duty of the parish priest was to provide for the care of the souls under his care (the *cura d'anime* or *cura animarum*). According to the classic description of those responsibilities in medieval Tuscany, the duties of the priest included the administration of the sacraments of baptism, penance, the Eucharist, extreme unction, the blessings of newly married women and mothers who had just given birth, the recitation of the Divine Office, preaching, and the burial of the dead.<sup>11</sup> When the archpriest of Sant'Ippolito Val di Pesa, Guglielmo dei Frescobaldi, granted the rector of San Pietro in Silva a license in 1327 to perform his pastoral duties, he authorized him to administer the sacraments, bury the dead, and recite the Divine Office.<sup>12</sup>

Unfortunately, even though these were the most important duties of the local priest in Florence, specific mention of these roles appears rarely in any of the primary sources. They are evident however in prescriptive sources, such as statutes or episcopal constitutions, and in documents that record conflicts over pastoral rights. For example, the episcopal constitution of 1310 contains a number of sections that mention and describe the proper procedures for the administration of the sacraments. A rubric on the frequency of

sacraments divides the sacraments into those that occur frequently (Eucharist, marriage, penance, extreme unction) from those which do not (baptism, ordination, and confirmation). “On Burials” (*De sepulturis*) details what the priest should and should not do while presiding over funerals.<sup>13</sup> The major difficulty with prescriptive sources like these, however, is that they tell us what should be done and not necessarily what was being done by individual priests in specific instances. Furthermore, they use generic language that commonly appears in other episcopal constitutions elsewhere, making it difficult for the historian to understand what specifically was happening in the diocese of Florence itself. Consequently, the historian has to turn to other kinds of sources, particularly those records which detail disputes over pastoral rights between two ecclesiastical institutions, found usually in notarial protocols or collections of rolled parchments (the *fondo Diplomatico*).<sup>14</sup>

The primary responsibility of the local priest was spiritual leadership: he administered the sacraments, heard confessions, and absolved sinners. As R. N. Swanson has written about medieval priests in general, they controlled “the remission of sin and access to the Body and Blood of Christ”; they were the “guardians of doctrine, and transmitters of truth” by seeking to “preserve and strengthen the faith of their flocks.” Priests also exercised “disciplinary, doctrinal control, extensive oversight of lay morality and judgment of worthiness to receive the sacraments.”<sup>15</sup> In one specific example of such spiritual oversight, from 1321, a Florentine taverner, Durante di Ricovero, who lived in the central urban parish of Santa Maria Maggiore, apparently had accumulated a significant amount of money through usury. He also maintained a close relationship with his local priest. In 1321, he turned to this confessor, a chaplain (*cappellano*) in the parish of Santa Maria Maggiore, and decided to entrust him with the restitution of his ill-gotten gains. One can imagine the nature of the conversations between the chaplain and the tavernkeeper. As the owner (or renter, we do not know which) of a public house, with significant access to cash, he was in a position to extend credit to his customers. Or maybe he was selling his wares on credit to his clients, charging interest. In any case, he had turned to his local priest for guidance, worried perhaps about the spiritual consequences of his moneylending practices. Durante probably knew that open usurers were to be excommunicated and were refused burial in hallowed ground. There was most likely a confession, followed by an assignment of the penance and a directive to restore the ill-gotten gains to those he had harmed.<sup>16</sup>

For men like the taverner Durante, access to the sacraments of the church, administered by priests, was necessary for eternal salvation. They conferred the healing power of grace to counteract sin and to be reconciled with God. Only at the end of the twelfth century was the number of sacraments confirmed as seven, and the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) provided a clear definition of them all. The sacraments were baptism, confirmation (administered only by a bishop), confession (contrition, repentance, and



satisfaction), Eucharist, marriage, ordination, and extreme unction. The local parish priest was supposed to hear the confessions of his parishioners at least once a year and assign penances, give his flock Communion at least once a year (usually at Easter), and administer extreme unction shortly before death. Ordination, performed exclusively by bishops, was limited to those few males who chose the clergy as their profession. The celebration of the mass, which reenacted the sacrifice of Christ and elicited his intercession for the Christian community, was the principal focus of devotion and worship for the community. The priest was expected to celebrate it at least once a day. As a trustworthy member of his community, he also needed to be available if a parishioner entrusted him with the restitution of funds earned through usury. This is what Giovanni di Gianno da Camiano did in the fall of 1313, when he committed his usuriously gained sum of thirty lire to Rainuccio, the archpriest of Castelfiorentino, for restitution.<sup>17</sup>

The recitation of the Divine Office, which included seven services during the day and one at night, was a worship service that usually did not include lay participation. Its purpose was to glorify God and to receive spiritual edification and instruction. In the words of Francis Oakley, it was “an occasion to evoke and express a personal interior devotion.”<sup>18</sup> The secular priest was expected to recite it each day in private, but that was probably rarely possible in practice. Basically, individual services were sung or recited by a priest at eight specific times of the day and night: lauds, prime, terce, sext, nones, vespers, compline, and matins (the night office). The services consisted primarily of psalms, hymns, prayers, and readings. From the early Middle Ages, the principal members of the clergy charged with the recitation of the Divine Office were the regular clergy. However, from the early thirteenth century, as confraternities developed under the influence of mendicants, literate laymen also found opportunities to recite the office or the psalms on a daily basis. It also became increasingly common for members of the secular clergy to celebrate the office as well. The regular recitation of the Divine Office ideally required the priest to cover the entire psalter each week and most of the Bible each year.<sup>19</sup>

The clergy also performed more “worldly” and pragmatic functions in their local communities, and it is here that they were especially important as sources of social assistance and support, particularly in the countryside. Throughout the period of this study, their leadership roles in their respective communities were far more evident than those assumed by the local magistrate (*podestà*), sent by Florence to represent communal interests. They served as local managers in their parishes, and their involvement in peace pacts, economic transactions, and conflict resolutions was extensive. This is an aspect of their role that historians of the rural clergy have for the most part overlooked, with the exception of Charles de La Roncière in his study of the Val d’Elsa. Furthermore, throughout the thirteenth century and at least until the middle of the fourteenth, when urban hegemony became a reality, the

secular clergy in the countryside—especially the bishopric and cathedral chapter—served as surrogates of communal control and influence. Rural residents could not easily turn to urban courts and magistrates for the resolution of their disputes since institutional governance by the city was largely absent in the countryside. As a consequence, they had few choices other than the local arbitrator, who was quite often the parish priest. He had the power to resolve an issue once the contending parties were willing to settle.<sup>20</sup>

The importance of the secular clergy in the affairs of the community was also reflected in individual, day-to-day transactions. A favorite site for the transaction of community business was the cloister of the *pieve* when members of the chapter were present as witnesses. Charles de La Roncière noted in his case study of the Val d'Eisa that local clergy often served as peacemakers, witnesses, and intermediaries in community transactions. In one-third of all the testaments from the community, for example, priests had served as witnesses.<sup>21</sup> Throughout the diocese of Florence, priests were mediators in local conflicts and witnesses in peace pacts. The number of local peace pacts in which local priests served either as mediators or as witnesses to the notarization of agreements seems too large to record.<sup>22</sup> The clergy was engaged in more peace pacts than disputes, according to available documentation. Particularly active as arbitrators in local disputes were the canons of Impruneta in the early 1320s. For example, in a conflict involving a land dispute in the parish of Impruneta, Presbyter Margarito, a chaplain (*cappellano*) of the *pieve*, served as one of three arbitrators, and the archpriest Bene and three canons witnessed the act that designated them as such. They rendered judgment in the late summer of 1323. The clergy at Settimo were also active peacemakers. In particular, Presbyter Rodolfo of the parish of San Giuliano di Settimo, located just west of the city, was a witness to numerous peace pacts in 1310 at Settimo. Members of the secular clergy in the Mugello also served as mediators on numerous occasions.<sup>23</sup>

Parish clergy also witnessed important notarized transactions, served as guarantors (*fideiussores*) of testaments of their parishioners, represented their communities in urban courts, and subsidized the economic resources of their parishioners. They witnessed sales, dowry contracts, and loans. Some of these transactions seem minor in importance from a modern perspective, but they were essential to the life of the community. In 1312, for example, the rector of Santa Brigida (*pieve* of Lobaco) witnessed the transfer of a cow from the custody of one person to another.<sup>24</sup> Priests regularly served as witnesses when parishioners notarized the repayment of loans, sales of property, and dowry agreements.<sup>25</sup> Clergy also served as representatives of their local communities in Florentine courts, both secular and episcopal.<sup>26</sup> Members of the clergy from Impruneta did so in 1325 when they appeared before the Florentine *podestà*.<sup>27</sup> In the diocese of Fiesole in 1327, the parish of San Martino di Lobaco chose a syndic (a member of the locally powerful

Cavalcanti family) to represent it in Florence. Sometimes a rector or archpriest appeared before papal representatives or the episcopal court on behalf of his local community. In 1313 the archpriest of the mountainous *pieve* of San Gavino Adimari in the Mugello, for example, appeared before the collector of the papal tenth in Florence to explain why his community was not able to pay the tithe.<sup>28</sup>

Secular priests in the countryside also provided important economic services. Archpriests and rectors often leased the properties of their endowments to local residents for modest amounts and were very flexible when it came to the collection of past due rents. Furthermore, these properties were often contiguous to other parcels held by tenants.<sup>29</sup> Parishioners also regularly relied on the local priests to serve as witnesses when the community transacted important business. For example, in 1307 at the church of San Martino at Vespignano in the Mugello valley, two local priests, Guido and Rodolfo, were present when the representatives of the commune of Vespignano made Tanto di Buono responsible to contract a loan for the commune.<sup>30</sup> Two years later, Presbyter Olivero, the rector of Santa Maria di Pulica, was one of three witnesses at a land sale involving two of his parishioners.<sup>31</sup>

Priests often witnessed and helped shape the creation of wills and testaments. In 1322, for example, in the parish of Santa Maria di Campoli, Tanto di Rinuccio had a local notary write up his testament. Among the witnesses gathered that day in the home of the testator was Presbyter Diede, the rector of the parish.<sup>32</sup> Meglino di Jacopo di Magaldo dei Magaldi, a wealthy resident in the urban parish of Sant' Apollinare who had numerous houses on the Via Anguillara, stipulated in 1330 that a significant amount of property was to go to the Dominicans at Santa Maria Novella after his death. Witnessing this act was the rector of San Martino a Mensola, a church east of Florence and west of Settignano (see [Figure 3](#)).<sup>33</sup> It is likely that San Martino was where the Magaldi held property and from where they had originally emigrated. In other situations priests served as executors or guarantors (*fideiussores*) of last wills and testaments. The examples are numerous. In one particular situation, Pietro di Guido di Uguccione, a usurer in the urban parish of San Leo, who also lived in Empoli, asked that his ill-gotten gains be repaid within a year. Requesting burial in the *pieve* of Empoli, he charged two presbyters of Sant' Andrea di Empoli to serve with his kinsmen as executors to ensure that the restitutions were made.<sup>34</sup>



Figure 3. San Martino a Mensola, on the outskirts of Florence. G. Dameron.

The rector and the archpriest were thoroughly engaged as leaders in their communities, and their work as facilitators of social transactions and peace pacts encouraged community solidarity. Indeed, their leadership helped resolve disputes and maintain order. Urban magistrates were aware of these roles played by the clergy, especially in the countryside, and that accounts for why the ruling urban elite relied on the Florentine clergy, especially the great lords, to represent their interests where urban influence was weak. They also must have known that local members of the secular clergy were doing in the countryside what the urban courts were doing in the city: resolving disputes.<sup>35</sup> The parish had served as the fundamental unit of local political life for more than a century, and the work of the local priest helped strengthen within the community a sense of local identity.<sup>36</sup> Also strengthening community solidarity was the fact that many rectors, especially those in the smaller parishes, were local men known to their communities since childhood. Because many parishes either exercised exclusive patronage rights in their churches or shared those rights with elite lay or ecclesiastical patrons, they had a direct or (at least) an indirect role in the selection of their own priests. In those areas of the city and *contado* where local residents exercised these kinds of rights, they exerted substantial local control, further strengthening a sense of community solidarity and perpetuating local traditions of self-governance.<sup>37</sup>

Members of the rural clergy presided over a conservative institutional structure that was extensive, stable, and, for the most part, well managed. Changes of office, for example, usually occurred without incident, and

ecclesiastical patronage rights were generally stable. In ascending order, the basic units of the Florentine church were the local parish church or oratory (*ecclesia*, or *cappella*), the collegiate baptismal church district (*plebatus*, or *piviere*), and the diocese. This structure was common throughout Italy. In Tuscany, parishes frequently appeared as administrative units in the documents from the early twelfth century.<sup>38</sup> The clergymen who presided in the rural and urban parishes were rectors or parish priests (*rectores*), like Presbyter Lorenzo of Impruneta, a colleague of Bene di Nero—men who normally held the second highest grade of major orders in the Christian ministry, the rank of presbyter.<sup>39</sup> According to canonical procedure, their superiors, the archpriests (the singular is *plebanus*; plural *plebani*) of the local baptismal churches (*plebes*; singular *plebs*, or *pieve*, in Italian) and the bishop had to approve their appointment before they could take office. These subordinate parishes or oratories (*ecclesiae*), whether rural or urban, usually had no baptismal fonts. Only the parish of the *pieve* was so equipped. Organizationally, at the next administrative level were the territorial districts of the collegiate churches equipped with baptismal fonts (the *plebes*, or *pievi*). Presiding over the *pieve* was an archpriest (the *plebanus* or *pievano*), whose election to his post was confirmed by the bishop. There were sixty *pievi* in the diocese of Florence in the thirteenth century, and thirty-five in Fiesole. Lucca also had sixty, and Arezzo had sixty-nine. In comparison, thirteenth century Verona had fifty-five.<sup>40</sup>

The total number of noncollegiate churches (*ecclesiae*) in the two dioceses subject to the papal tax (the papal tenth), excluding *pievi*, at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century was 568 for Florence (513 plus 55; see Tables 1 and 2) and 285 for Fiesole. These figures compare with 522 for Arezzo, 294 for Pisa, and 505 for Lucca.<sup>41</sup> There were fifty-nine *pievi* and twenty-seven collegiate churches in the countryside in the diocese of Florence, and one *pieve* and fifteen collegiate churches in the city. These figures do not include exempt institutions.<sup>42</sup> Table 1 provides an ecclesiastical overview of the countryside.

TABLE 1. ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, DIOCESE OF FLORENCE

|                                              |                             |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Matrix Monasticon</i> , Florence, 1280-87 |                             |
| Noncollegiate churches                       | 588                         |
| Collegiate churches                          | 27                          |
| Monasteries/convents                         | 28 (18 female) <sup>a</sup> |
| Hospitals                                    | 10 b231303                  |
| Confraternities                              | 14                          |
| <i>Pievi</i>                                 | 59                          |
| Hermitages                                   | 2                           |

Sources: Rationes decimarum, esp. 2:ix; Villani, *Nuova chronica*; Benvenuti Papi, “Donne religiose”; Davidsohn, *Storia di Tirenze*; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*; “The Hospitals of Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence” and “ ‘Spendide case di cura,’ ” 20–21; La Roncière, “Aspects,” 349; and the *Matrix Monasticon*, Florence (for access to the *Matrix Monasticon*, Florence, see <http://>

[monasticmatrix.usc.edu/monasticon/index.php?function=search&function=search&regionId=l&name=&town=florence&diocese=&religiousOrder=&contributors=&keyword=&id=&countryId=l&pageStart=61&perPage=30&pageStart=91&perPage=30](http://monasticmatrix.usc.edu/monasticon/index.php?function=search&function=search&regionId=l&name=&town=florence&diocese=&religiousOrder=&contributors=&keyword=&id=&countryId=l&pageStart=61&perPage=30&pageStart=91&perPage=30)); and my own reading of the primary sources (ASF NA and Diplomatico, in particular).

<sup>a</sup> The *Matrix Monasticon* lists 112 female communities for Florence between 400 and 1600 (accessed April 2, 2004). I have counted for this table only those communities in the countryside (beyond the city and its suburbs) that were in existence before 1330.

In the early fourteenth century, most of the churches in the diocese of Florence were simple buildings. In the countryside, the typical parish, or *ecclesia* was a small stone church staffed by a single presbyter who lived in a oneroom stone cottage adjacent to or attached to the church. At the eastern end of the church was the altar, dedicated to the patron saint of the church.<sup>43</sup>

For the most part, the process by which local clergy received their appointments appears to have functioned well in the countryside. Patronage rights—that is, the traditional privileges exercised by specific individuals, groups, or entities to make appointments to ecclesiastical institutions in which they hold those rights—were generally stable throughout the period of this study. Conflicts over appointments were the exception rather than the rule.<sup>44</sup> Patrons could be individuals, families, male members of a parish, ecclesiastical institutions, the bishop, papacy, or a combination of any of those groups. Within the whole countryside, between 1250 and 1330, only three institutions saw a change of patrons: Santa Brigida (Lobaco), San Quirico di Roballa, and Santa Maria e San Bartolomeo di Buonsollazzo. There were only five challenges to customary patronage rights, and at least two of them occurred because papal provisions threatened the exercise of customary rights. Contested elections were few, but some of them entailed lengthy disputes with wide-ranging political consequences.

TABLE 2. ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE CITY AND SUBURBS OF FLORENCE

| <i>Number of institutions</i> |                             |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Noncollegiate churches        | 56                          |
| Collegiate churches           | 15                          |
| Monasteries/convents          | 97 (66 female) <sup>a</sup> |
| Hospitals                     | 37 <sup>b</sup>             |
| Confraternities               | 39                          |
| <i>Pievi</i>                  | 1                           |
| Hermitages                    | 2                           |

Sources: *Rationes decimarum*, esp. 2:1x; Villani, *Nuova chronica*; Benvenuti Papi, “Donne religiose”; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*; “The Hospitals of Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence” and “ ‘Spendide case di cura,’ ” 20–21; La Roncière, “Aspects,” 349; and the *Matrix Monasticon*, Florence (for access to the *Matrix Monasticon*, Florence, see <http://monasticmatrix.usc.edu/monasticon/index.php?function=search&function=search&regionId=l&name=&town=florence&diocese=&religiousOrder=&contributors=&keyword=&id=i&countryId=i&pageStart=61&perPage=30&pageStart=91&perPage=30>); and my own reading of the primary sources (ASF NA and Diplomatico, in particular). For access to the *Matrix Monasticon*, go to <http://monasticmatrix.usc.edu/monasticon/>.

<sup>a</sup> The *Matrix Monasticon* lists 112 female communities for Florence between 400 and 1600 (accessed April 2, 2004). I have counted for this table only those communities in the city and suburbs that were in existence before 1330.

<sup>b</sup> Henderson listed twelve new hospital foundations for the period between 1250 and 1299 and four between 1300 and 1349. Villani counted thirty hospitals in 1338. According to Henderson, there were fifty-eight active hospitals between 1200 and 1500 (“‘Spendide case di cura,’” 20–22). My count of thirty-seven includes only those institutions in the city that were founded before 1330.

When a vacancy in an oratory or *pieve* occurred, the patrons of the church normally gathered in the sanctuary to choose a successor.<sup>45</sup> In some cases they met to choose a procurator who was responsible for making the appointment. Once the patrons made their choice, the bishop had to approve the selection before it could be final. The bishop issued a decree inviting anyone who objected to the appointment to appear before him within eight days. After the expiration of that period, the appointment was supposedly valid. Shortly thereafter, the local archpriest (in the case of the appointment of a rector) or the bishop (in the case of the selection of an archpriest) presided over the installation and investiture of the new officeholder. Where conflicts over the appointment emerged, the archpriest usually first tried to handle it on the local level by resolving it himself or by appointing a mediator to do so. In some situations, however, an aggrieved party could appeal the case to the episcopal court. Occasionally, the appeals process could take the case all the way to the papal court. However, the overwhelming majority of ecclesiastical elections in both Florence and Fiesole occurred without controversy or challenge.<sup>46</sup>

The procedure for resolving disputes over appointments seems to have worked well in the *contado*. Occasionally archpriests or rectors objected to the granting of prebends to men who claimed to be canons. Usually, officials appointed by the bishop adjudicated those disputes. In 1313, the abbot of the Florentine monastery of Santa Trinita mediated the case between Presbyter Ricovero (a chaplain, or *cappellano*), who claimed to be a canon in the *pieve* of Signa, and the archpriest of Signa, who was disputing that claim.<sup>47</sup> On rare occasions, especially in remote regions of the diocese like the northern Mugello, such disputes could still show up in the courts of the local nobility. Some of these nobles continued to exercise lordship in their territories, and their courts still exercised private jurisdiction in some areas of the countryside in the fourteenth century. In 1317 the rector of Santa Maria di Rostolena, for example, objected to the awarding of a prebend to a canon of the church. The local count, Guido Novello, decided in favor of the canon and against the rector.<sup>48</sup>

Conflicts between parishes often erupted over rights to burials, tithes, confessions, taxes, and clerical appointments (or church patronage). Indeed, the principal source of conflict between members of the secular clergy was disagreement over parochial boundaries, often (but not always) prompted by the pressures of communal, episcopal, or papal taxation. But even here there were mechanisms for settlement of conflicts. Borders and lines of division between parishes were often imprecise and, as a result, rural and urban parishes occasionally fell into disputes over the collection of tithes and taxes. In 1261, for example, the *pieve* of San Giovanni di Signa in the Arno Valley



was in an argument with the collegiate church (*canonica*) of San Martino di Gangalandi over whether four parish churches (*cappelle*) should have to pay communal taxes (the *libra*) with the former or with the latter. The decision was for the parishes to pay along with the former.<sup>49</sup> Communal and papal taxation (especially after 1300) made the collection of tithes very important in some localities and caused many conflicts that are recorded in the sources.

In other disagreements, procedures for resolution existed that usually worked. In 1318 San Michele Visdomini and the cathedral chapter sent their dispute over parish boundaries to an arbitrator for settlement. They chose a churchman, the archdeacon of Fiesole.<sup>50</sup> Some local parishes were willing to contest testamentary bequests, especially when they involved perpetual masses, gifts of money or supplies for religious services like altar vestments and burial offerings or fees (*oblationes*). In 1322, in a dispute over burial rights, Simone, the archpriest of Monterrapoli, petitioned the rector of San Jacopo di Stigliano for the body of a man whose ancestors were buried at Monterrapoli.<sup>51</sup> In another example, the parishes of Quintole and Montebuoni in the *piviere* of Impruneta disagreed over tithes and parish lines.<sup>52</sup> Most cases like these came to resolution, however, usually through the efforts of local arbitrators. Quite often the arbitrators themselves were clerics, trusted by both sides. Typical was the case in 1329 when two rectors near Impruneta appointed the rector of Pozzolatico as their arbitrator because they recognized he was a “mutual friend and a good man” (*communem amicum et bonum virum*). Their argument over tithes and boundaries ended six days later.<sup>53</sup> Occasionally rural parishes fought over the right to collect tithes in certain communities, and in a few situations, the suits made their way to the episcopal court.

One of the most important duties of the archpriest as well as the parish priest, therefore, was to resolve local disputes. On May 29, 1301, for example, Santa Maria Impruneta and the subordinate church of Sant’Ilario a Pitigliolo argued over the right to bury a certain Chiara, wife of Bencino da Pitigliolo. The case went to the episcopal court in Florence, where the episcopal vicar rendered a judgment favoring Impruneta. Chiara was to be buried in the cemetery of Impruneta, and the rector of Pitigliolo was to surrender the burial fees (*oblationes*) to the archpriest.<sup>54</sup> If disputes between parishioners and their local priests erupted over property or burials, usually the archpriest of Impruneta stepped in to act as a mediator, often accompanied by a chaplain (*cappellano*). For example, in 1323, archpriest Bene di Nero mediated a dispute between the rector of San Lorenzo alle Ruose and Peruzzio di Bartolo and his two sons. The presbyter apparently had objected to the burial of Peruzzio’s wife in the parish, perhaps because the rector had accused him of withholding tithes. The archpriest and a chaplain, Armato, served as arbitrators. They generated an agreement (*laudum*) in favor of the parishioner on the grounds that his ancestors had been buried there. She could be buried there if her family agreed. The arbitrators required the parish priest, Presbyter



Taddeo, to pay the priests at the burial and to provide the wax candles the husband and sons wanted.<sup>55</sup>

In another apt example, the rectors of the parishes of San Miniato a Quintole and San Piero a Montebuoni clashed over parish boundaries in March of 1330. At issue were the rights to collect tithes and the responsibility to pay the expenses of the legal case. Equipped with a license from the episcopal vicar (the archpriest Francesco of Pimonte), the parties followed customary practice and chose a local arbitrator, the rector of Santo Stefano a Pozzolatico. In a judgment that apparently ended the dispute, he ruled that the land was clearly within the parish boundaries of San Miniato a Quintole.<sup>56</sup> Archpriests and rectors (like the rector of Pozzolatico) were key peacemakers in the resolution of conflicts, both ecclesiastical and secular. The leadership that clergymen like these exercised fostered stability and social order at a time of rapid economic change.

There was only one *pieve* in the city: the *pieve* of San Giovanni, and its archpriest also served as an important leader of his community. According to Giovanni Villani, the subordinate or subaltern churches of the *pieve* of San Giovanni included about fifty-seven urban parishes.<sup>57</sup> This number is probably an underestimate. According to the *Rationes decimarum*, the fifty noncollegiate churches in the city and suburbs in 1276 had grown to fifty-five by 1302. In addition, there were at least fifteen collegiate churches headed by priors in the city and suburbs: San Lorenzo, the cathedral chapter, San Pietro di Monticelli, Ognissanti, Santa Maria sopra Porta, Santo Stefano al Ponte, San Piero Scheraggio, San Michele Berteldi, San Frediano, San Paolo, Sant' Apollinare, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Jacopo d'Oltrarno, Santissimi Apostoli, and San Felice a Erna. Therefore, there were at least seventy parishes in the city and suburbs of Florence (see Table 2 above), and seventy-one, when one includes the parish of the *pieve*.<sup>58</sup> Several of the churches within the city and countryside were specifically under papal protection and exempt from episcopal jurisdiction.<sup>59</sup> Patronage rights in urban churches changed little in the course of the period covered by this study. However, there were three unsuccessful challenges to traditional patronage rights associated with urban ecclesiastical institutions: Sant' Andrea, San Michele Visdomini, and the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova (see Appendix D).

The physical focus of the urban *pieve* was the baptistery of San Giovanni Battista, located in the north central area of the city, opposite the cathedral. Originating in late antiquity, the Baptistery went through several stages of construction in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to become the structure known to clergy like Stefano de Broy or Bene di Nero in 1300. It was a principal ritual center of Florentine religious life, where every urban resident was baptized as an infant. Presiding over the administration of the sacraments was the archpriest (*pievano*) of the *pieve* of San Giovanni, whom the cathedral chapter appointed. In the late summer of 1280, for example, two canons deputized by the chapter, Aldino and Giovanni, elected a new archpriest

following the death of the previous one, Clarito.<sup>60</sup>

Clarito and his successor performed their duties in the most sumptuously embellished *pieve* in the diocese. When a fourteenth-century Florentine, such as the cathedral canon Stefano de Broy, entered the octagonal building of the Baptistery, he saw what the modern visitor sees today: the monumental mosaic figure of Christ Enthroned, executed by Coppo di Marcovaldo sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century (see [Figure 4](#)).<sup>61</sup> Portrayed in the Italo-Byzantine style, Christ is separating the blessed from the damned as they rise from their graves on Judgment Day. To his left and his right are three groups: the angels and seraphim who trumpeted the Last Judgment, the Virgin with the Baptist and apostles seated on thrones, and the patriarchs. Also portrayed are stories from Genesis, and the lives of Joseph, Christ, and John the Baptist. This building is the “bel San Giovanni” of Dante, mentioned in the *Inferno*, canto 19. The poet knew these mosaics well. Indeed, the portrayal of hell to the left and below the figure of Christ might very well have influenced his own literary vision of its horrors.



Figure 4. Mosaic of Christ Enthroned, thirteenth century, in the Baptistery, Florence. Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

The urban *pieve* was also the site of the mysterious episode Dante mentions in canto 19 of the *Inferno*, and the incident underscores its central function in the religious life of the Florentines. Having apparently saved the life of someone who had fallen into a baptismal font, Dante found himself accused of sacrilege for having broken it open:

For the baptizings in my fair San Giovanni—  
 One of which many years ago I broke,  
 To save one drowning there ...<sup>62</sup>

The archpriest (*pievano*) of San Giovanni and of other *pievi* throughout the diocese performed other important duties besides baptism. He buried the dead, collected the local tithes, and performed the sacraments and religious services for the faithful living within the parish of the *pieve*. He had to acquiesce to the appointments of all parish rectors, or *rectores*. Supposedly, the archpriest had the right to claim a quarter of all parochial tithes within his *piviere*.<sup>63</sup> Often the papacy called on the archpriests to be responsible for transferring the local assessments of the papal tenth to the officially designated collectors. They also served occasionally as liaisons between Florence and their local communities, paying urban fees or supervising the construction of bridges. We also find these archpriests often representing their local clergy before the bishop. Their willingness to serve as witnesses for local residents in notarized documents and to follow and often execute testaments and wills placed them at the center of local affairs.

### Regular Clergy: The Monasteries

Monasteries provided important resources for their respective communities during a time of rapid economic and demographic expansion: food, employment for many, arbitration for the resolution of local conflicts, and leaseable property on reasonable terms for rural residents. Throughout the period of our study there were at least thirty rural monasteries, convents, hermitages, and friaries in the diocese of Florence founded before 1350. In the entire diocese of Fiesole, which was overwhelmingly rural, there were at least twenty-nine rural monasteries and convents. They were all subject to a variety of authorities, including the papacy, their respective orders (Vallombrosa or Camaldoli, for instance), or, in at least one case, the bishopric. Such a mosaic of jurisdiction created much confusion and was often a source of strife.

The most prestigious monasteries in the countryside around Florence included San Salvatore di Settimo, San Michele di Passignano, and San Godenzo (see Map 1). Of the twenty-eight in the diocese of Florence, eight were Franciscan friaries or convents. They were located along the major road arteries of the *contado*, at Bosco di Mugello, Borgo San Lorenzo, Figline Valdarno, Barberino Val d'Elsa, Poggibonsi, Castelfiorentino (one for women and one for men), and Vicchio.<sup>64</sup> They were subject to their own minister general. At least seven female convents and one mixed community were among those institutions subject to episcopal jurisdiction. The bishop occasionally acted to safeguard the well being of the institutions in which he exercised some control. For example, Bishop Antonio of Florence united Buonsollazzo to the Cistercian monastery at Settimo in 1320 so that Settimo could subsidize the sagging financial fortunes of Buonsollazzo. In 1301, when the civil strife between Blacks and Whites had spilled into the countryside, Stefano de Broy, vicar of the bishop of Fiesole, gave the nuns of Rosano permission to move wherever they wanted to remain safe from the ravages of

Most rural monasteries were exempt from episcopal control, or at least they claimed to be. Among the exempt institutions were the Vallombrosan monasteries of San Paolo di Razzuolo and San Michele di Passignano. They both reported to the abbot of Vallombrosa, so any buying and selling of land normally had to go before the abbot of that principal abbey. In 1322, for example, to obtain permission to sell its property at Grignano near the Pesa River and to buy property at Monteficalle, the abbot of Passignano went to the abbot of Vallombrosa for permission.<sup>66</sup> Occasionally, disputes erupted between the bishops and the rural abbots over issues of jurisdiction. Two examples demonstrate this point well, and they both come from the diocese of Fiesole. Affirming that it was under papal jurisdiction and exempt from episcopal power in 1282, the abbot of Passignano claimed he was not obliged to attend a synod called by the bishop of Fiesole.<sup>67</sup> At San Godenzo, which had about seven monks, the monks fought with the bishop of Fiesole over the election of a new abbot in 1310.<sup>68</sup> Rural monasteries like those of Passignano and Godenzo considered themselves independent communities and usually resented the demands of the local bishops.

Subject to the monastery of Vallombrosa, Passignano was a powerful presence in its local community and the focus of many political conflicts that pitted Guelfs against Ghibellines. Founded in the tenth century by the margrave of Tuscany, in the early fourteenth century Passignano had about fourteen men in its community: an abbot, four lay laborers (*conversi*), four unspecified men of high rank (*domini*), and five monks.<sup>69</sup> As early as 1272 one of its members was serving as treasurer (*camerarius*).<sup>70</sup> Not only was the abbey a formidable economic presence in this region of the Val di Pesa, but it also shared the traditional right to elect (*ius eligendi*) the chief magistrate (*podestà*) of the commune of Poggialvento with the officials of that commune.<sup>71</sup> It exercised patronage rights in the churches of Santa Maria di Vicesimo, San Jacopo a Mucciano, San Bartolomeo di Figline, San Blasio di Passignano, Sant'Andrea di Poggialvento, and it was subject itself to the jurisdiction of the prior general of Vallombrosa.

Passignano was at the center of several major political conflicts in the second decade of the fourteenth century, the outcome of which strengthened the influence of the papacy over the affairs of Vallombrosa and its daughter abbeys. The abbot of Passignano and the prior general of the Vallombrosan order in the early fourteenth century, Ruggero dei Buondelmonti, was a member of a powerful magnate lineage and a Black partisan. He incurred the ire of the legate of Clement V, Napoleone degli Orsini, by refusing to cooperate with the policy of repatriating White Guelfs into Florence in the early fourteenth century. Accusing him of theft, sodomy, and murder, the legate had Ruggero deposed as prior general in 1307. Ruggero's procurator in the case was his protégé, Stefano de Broy. Following the former's deposition and death (in 1315), the controversies became even more intense. They

involved most of the major ecclesiastical players in the dioceses of Florence and Fiesole.

Supported by Ghibellines, Florentine magnates, and a minority of the abbots of Vallombrosan monasteries, Bartolo Ceci, the allegedly corrupt abbot of San Mercuriale di Forlì in the Romagna, managed to get himself elected prior general. He encountered the harsh hostility of most of the abbots of the Vallombrosan monasteries who claimed his election had been uncanonical and illegal (“non canonicam et non de iure”). Consequently, they charged several churchmen, including Stefano de Broy, to choose a successor for Vallombrosa. They chose Niccolò, abbot of Passignano, as the new prior general. Meanwhile, the opponents of Bartolo pressed their case against him in episcopal (1316) and later papal courts (1317). In 1319 Pope John XXII directed the bishops of Florence and Fiesole to investigate Bartolo and his election, and eventually he asked them to bring him to Avignon. There, papal officials “convinced” Bartolo to resign voluntarily. Invalidating the appointments of both Bartolo and Niccolò, the pope appointed a third person: Giovanni, the abbot of Astino (Bergamo). This man, in turn, stirred up so much trouble excommunicating rebellious abbots and monks that the commune of Florence issued a statute that permitted armed men to stand guard over the body of a deceased abbot of Vallombrosa awaiting burial.<sup>72</sup>

There were about three times as many monasteries in the city as there were in the countryside, and a large number of them were female communities. In all, there were at least ninety-seven monasteries, convents, religious communities, and friaries in the city and suburbs of Florence. At least five of these establishments were large abbeys with at least eighty monks. Some of these communities helped elevate Florence into the ranks of the foremost centers of learning in Europe in the early fourteenth century. The mendicant friaries were among the largest communities on the continent, and their designation as *studia generalia*, major centers for the study of theology, helped transform Florence into an important intellectual hub. Within the community of Franciscans at Santa Croce there developed a strong community of Spiritual Franciscans, nurtured by the presence at the friary of Pietro Olivi (1287–89) and Ubertino da Casale (d. circa 1330). Apart from the friaries, there were many more female communities in the city than Giovanni Villani or contemporary historians have previously estimated. Of those ninety-seven, at least sixty-six were female communities, a much larger number than the twenty-four nunneries the chronicler Giovanni Villani mentioned.<sup>73</sup>

The mendicants had situated themselves on the edges of the city where immigration was most intense in the thirteenth century, and two of their friaries rapidly became among the most important and influential in Europe.<sup>74</sup> Among the populations they served were rural immigrants (including the painter Giotto, who had settled in the parish of Santa Maria Novella), artisans, and merchants. The Franciscans had been present in the city as early as the



first decade of the thirteenth century. Saint Francis had apparently sent Bernard and Giles there in 1208 or 1209, and the saint himself was in the city in 1211 or 1212. The friars had settled in Florence by 1217 in the hospice of San Gallo. According to a bull by Gregory IX, by 1228 they had taken possession of the church of Santa Croce. By 1252 their community had grown large enough to necessitate a major renovation. The size and argumentative nature of their communities however did not sit well with many other Italians, including Florentines. Franciscans and their followers had an unsavory reputation among some Florentines for always bickering among themselves, quite a different image from that presented by the self-effacing founder of their order. The chronicler Salimbene once explained that whenever a friar left the Franciscan community, Florentines would say, “We marvel that he stayed so long, since the Franciscans torment one another [so much].”<sup>75</sup>

When Salimbene made that comment he was perhaps thinking of the generation-long split within the Florentine Franciscan community between the black and gray friars. Inspired by mendicant preaching in the early thirteenth century, these lay brothers (friars) of penance were known as the *fratres de vita de penitentia*, and they settled and attracted followers in Florence between 1218 and 1221. They administered the offerings and donations of Santa Maria Novella, distributed charity to the poor, and worked in various hospitals. From 1229 they were primarily responsible for a branch of the hospital of Fontemanzina (at Fiorenzuola), located near Santa Maria Novella. Many of the men of this fraternity resided near Santa Maria Novella. Their female counterparts in the penitential life were those laywomen who had settled near Santa Croce and dedicated themselves to living a life of austerity and penance (the *pinzochere*). Together, these two male and female groups constituted the loose organization of the Third Order of Saint Francis (the *tertiaries*), the Order of Penitence, and they received a rule to govern their communities in 1289 from Pope Nicholas IV.

Almost twenty years before receiving a rule, in 1270, the brothers of penance in Florence argued among themselves over their habit and its color, and the dispute soon spread beyond the walls of the city. Those who preferred black tended to want a stricter interpretation of the Rule of Saint Francis than those who wore gray. The black friars were also sharply critical of the leadership offered by the friars of Santa Croce. Although the papacy wanted them reconciled, Bishop Andrea Mozzi sided with the blacks against the grays. Finally, in late November of 1296, Bishop Francesco Monaldeschi supervised a final reconciliation between the two factions. Among the many statutes passed were the following: there were to be two ministers, each representing one faction; the friars were to follow the rule of Pope Nicholas IV (1289) for the Third Order; the habit was to be neither gray nor black but a neutral color; and finally, there were to be outside visitors who would help prevent further disputes from erupting.<sup>76</sup>

New sets of friars arrived after midcentury, including the Carmelites and



the Servites. From 1259 the friars of the sack (Saccati), the Brothers of Penitence of Jesus Christ, were situated in the small church of Sant'Egidio. They had originated in Provence, and their founder was a former Franciscan. Pope Alexander IV confirmed the order in 1255, and they were subject to the Rule of Saint Augustine. They wore a coat of sackcloth over their habit (hence, their name). Extremely successful in the cities of Europe (they had over a hundred communities), they were suppressed and dissolved in 1274 at the Second Council of Lyon. However, several friars still managed to survive in Florence as a community. In 1295, when Pope Boniface VIII merged Sant'Egidio with the nearby hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, there were still eight friars of the sack in residence there.

In the Oltrarno, the Carmelites (the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin from Mount Carmel) had settled in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine by 1268. Initially supported by a testamentary legacy executed by Agnese Vernaccia on behalf of her husband, the Carmelite friars began to build a convent and church for themselves in this expanding area of the city. Bishop Giovanni Mangiadori awarded them with a relic (the foot of Saint Agnes) to preserve in their church, and they supposedly also had a highly venerated painted image of the Virgin in their possession. By 1309 they were given permission to hear confessions and grant absolution. Although the Carmelite communities at Pisa and Siena were older, the office of prior provincial of the Tuscan Carmelites was situated in Florence by the last decade of the thirteenth century. Reflective of the growing prestige of this urban convent, by 1324 the Carmelites had established a *Studium generale* (school of theology) in Florence.<sup>77</sup>

In the course of the thirteenth century, the city welcomed additional groups of friars. In the flat and growing northern suburb of the city called the Cafaggio, the Servites of Santa Maria established a community in 1250. Having moved to the city from their hermitage at Monte Senario in the mountains north of the city, they eventually supervised the building of their friary, Santissima Annunziata.<sup>78</sup> In the case of two urban friaries, Ognissanti (the Humiliati) and Santissima Annunziata, several of their friars were involved in the governance of the city in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Two monks from Ognissanti, for example, served as treasurers of the commune. The Servite friars in the Cafaggio at Santissima Annunziata took turns (two at a time) serving six-month terms as treasurers for the construction of the new circle of walls.<sup>79</sup>

The two principal friaries in Florence were among the largest in Europe. Only Paris seemed to have a higher number of Franciscans in its friary (170). Santa Maria Novella (Figure 5) had about 100 friars, and Santa Croce about 125.<sup>80</sup> They received the patronage and protection of the papacy, and their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction in Florence and Fiesole was so clear that friars rarely appear in any of the remaining episcopal records. By 1287 there were general schools of theology in the convents of Santo Spirito and

Santa Croce. This was also the same year that Pietro Olivi, a principal intellectual among the Spiritual Franciscans, received his appointment.<sup>81</sup>

Both mendicant orders attracted large numbers of lay females to the ideals of penitential living. Between 1250 and 1260, for example, a community of lay religious women (*pinzochere*, or *donne de vestitis de Santa Croce*), who dedicated themselves to a life of charity, penitence, and prayer, began to gather around Santa Croce. By 1299 an abbess had appeared in this community. She became the recipient of legacies left by other *pinzochere*, as we find in 1311 when she received ten soldi left by Bertaccia dei Lamberteschi. *Pinzochere* lived in private homes, and they formed cooperative communities dedicated to the penitential life. Santa Maria Novella was also the setting of another major community of female Dominican tertiaries (*mantellate*), documented also from the middle of the thirteenth century. Many of them appear to have been sisters and mothers of Dominican friars who chose to live a communal penitential life, and some lived in a common house (*domus*) whose existence is documented from the early fourteenth century (1307).<sup>82</sup>



Figure 5. Santa Maria Novella, begun by 1279. G. Dameron.

The Dominicans were in Florence by November of 1219, the same year they arrived in Bologna. They were situated in the church of Santa Maria Novella by 1221. In 1279 Aldobrandino dei Cavalcanti (d. 1279), the Florentine prior of the friary of Santa Maria Novella and former bishop of Orvieto (1272), initiated the rebuilding and enlargement of the church. He was also the person responsible for having invited the Dominican cardinal Malabranca Latino to come to the city to quell factional disturbances between

the Pazzi and the Donati. The soon-to-be reconstructed Santa Maria Novella was consecrated on October 18, 1279, by Cardinal Latino himself. The act of consecration was closely associated with the peacemaking activities of the cardinal at that time. Eager to heal the factional divisions crippling the city, he preached on peace a month later before an audience gathered in the piazza before the friary. In November he addressed the congregation in the cathedral, celebrated mass, and partook of a meal with the canons consisting of bread, wine, spiced meat, nuts, and figs (which cost the canons forty-nine soldi; they apparently had to borrow knives and glasses for the event). In January of 1280 he held another public meeting in the piazza to present his terms for peace and a month later presided over the creation of those peace pacts in the same location.

Santa Maria Novella was not only a focus of peacemaking activities; it was also an educational center. Along with convents at Siena, Naples, and Lucca, the Dominican convent at Florence had a functioning provincial school of theology, a *Studium particularis theologiae*, in existence as early as 1281. By 1305 it probably hosted the most prestigious type of Dominican school of theology, a general house of theological studies, or *Studium generale*. In 1305 as well a master of theology was appointed, the Florentine, Paris-trained Remigio di Ser Chiaro dei Girolami (1235–1319). He was responsible for developing Santa Maria Novella into a center of scholastic learning, focused around a curriculum that emphasized the study of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. As Florence confirmed its position as the preeminent political and economic power of Tuscany, the *Studium particularis* at Santa Maria Novella was chosen over Santa Catarina in Pisa to become a *Studium generale*. We have evidence that by 1311 such a school was operating at Santa Maria Novella. Seven years later, in 1318, a master for boys was appointed to preside over a school for youths. Charles Davis estimated that whereas Santa Croce had a library of about forty-five manuscripts (canon law texts and a few classical authors), the library of Santa Maria Novella had more classical authors. It was in the middle rank of Dominican schools in Italy.<sup>83</sup>

One monastery that was not exempt from episcopal jurisdiction was San Miniato al Monte, situated on the hillside south of the city walls overlooking the city. The monastery was founded in the eleventh century by the bishop. The prelate of Florence appointed its abbot, a traditional right he had exercised since its founding. In the early fourteenth century, aside from the abbot, there were apparently six monks.<sup>84</sup> The relations between the monastery and the bishop were not always cooperative; occasional differences arose between the two parties when it came time to elect a new abbot.

The presence of female religious communities in the city (at least sixty-six by my count), facilitated by the relocation of many rural establishments into the suburbs and urban periphery, helped make Florence a center of female religious life in Tuscany. Anna Benvenuti Papi has described in her many works on female religious communities the two major developments in their

history from the end of the thirteenth century: urbanization and a gradual trend toward organization and regulation.<sup>85</sup> These communities tended to be concentrated on the Borgo Pinti, the Borgo San Lorenzo, and at the Porta Romana—the principal arteries connecting the inner city with the northern and southern suburbs (see Map 2). They were among the smallest monastic communities, having on average about twenty-one women and girls in each urban convent. Several rural female communities, originally rural hospitals, transferred from the countryside into the city in the early fourteenth century to escape the vicissitudes of war, the growing burden of taxes, or to obtain new patrons for their establishments. They needed new patrons (in the city) because rural endowments were declining and the fortunes of their rural aristocratic patrons were often literally under siege. One example of such a community was Sant'Andrea di Bibbiena, which fled the regions near Arezzo in 1291 to escape war. Other communities which left the countryside in favor of the city include San Barnaba a Torri (1313) and the community established by Saint Umiltà (San Giovanni Evangelista) on the Mugnone. They brought with them a wide variety of nontraditional models of sanctity. Some individual women (*recluse* or *eremite*) lived in small suburban communities and might have been following a rule. Others were living alone as anchoresses, often on bridges in small oratories spanning the Arno. For example, a certain Lapa lived as an anchorite (*inclusa*) near the church of Santa Maria a Soffiano in 1298. Lapa was typical of many Florentine women who chose to pursue an eremitic lifestyle in their zeal to imitate Christ, and her life exemplified the wide variety of pious choices open to many women in medieval Florence.

Among the most important patrons and protectors of many female institutions was the bishop, who throughout the period of this study tried to bring these communities under episcopal control, subject to the Augustinian rule. Examples of episcopal protection are numerous. In 1313 the bishop of Florence deemed the convent of San Pier Maggiore sound enough economically to merit an increase in the number of its nuns from twelve to thirteen (including the abbess). Nine years later the convent received rights to bury those who requested it. In 1314, the bishop granted Augustinian nuns the license to build an oratory and monastery at Settimo. Many other communities were directly under episcopal jurisdiction, which is evident from the large number of instances in which the prelates appointed new abbesses. Convents in which the bishop exercised the right of election include San Pier Maggiore (Florence), Santa Maria Vergine di Torre (Val di Pesa), and Santa Maria Maddalena (Florence). Other convents, such as Santa Maria di Mantignano, were under papal jurisdiction, and, as we have seen, there was by 1299 an abbess for the community of lay religious women (*pinzochere*) gathered around Santa Croce.<sup>86</sup>

Of the female institutions under episcopal jurisdiction in the early fourteenth century, many were not passive clients of the bishop, overwhelmed

by debt and war in the early fourteenth century. Indeed, they could be quite aggressive about defending their rights and privileges and expressing their opinions. In 1300, Margarita, the abbess of San Pier Maggiore, was accused before the bishop by the daughter of a Lombard notary of having called Pope Boniface VIII the devil incarnate, not a pope (a view with which many in Florence would have agreed, including Dante Alighieri, whose residence was just steps away from the convent). Whatever she did or thought, the abbess was apparently absolved, and the matter was closed by early 1300. Her successor at San Pier Maggiore, Abbess Filippa, was just as defiant. In early 1302 she objected to the presence of the Visdomini and Tosinghi lineages at the traditional meal provided by the convent to the bishop during his official entry into the city. No doubt worried about the costs of hosting members of these families during future episcopal entries, she claimed it was not validated by tradition. The bishop apparently agreed with the complaint.<sup>87</sup> Not always did Florentine nuns have to turn to the bishop to defend their economic interests, however. In 1312, for example, thirty-two nuns of San Matteo di Arcetri met to appoint a representative to collect the alms (*elemosine*) that they claimed they were owed.<sup>88</sup> The growing numbers of female communities in the city and the willingness of many to defend their interests aggressively provide us with a complex picture of female religious communities.

## Hospitals and Confraternities

During the period of growth and expansion before 1330, hospitals and confraternities were the principal recipients and dispensers of charity and shelter in the diocese. As such, they were the primary means of social assistance and support for the many thousands in the city and countryside of Florence who were outside the mainstream: the poor, the seasonally employed, the sick, immigrants seeking work, and those thrown out of work or deprived of their land by economic changes. As they often do today, programs of social assistance played a stabilizing role during a period of dramatic socioeconomic change. In many ways, the Florence of the late thirteenth century resembled a major city of a modern developing country, with its high demand for labor from the countryside. Many immigrants were able to find work, but much of it was seasonal. Some were indigent and unemployed, having left their impoverished rural community in search of opportunities in the city. Many others were impoverished by the loss of jobs in the city. Hospitals and confraternities served to provide networks of charitable support that helped preserve the social order during this period of significant population growth, immigration, and economic dislocation. They offered shelter and charity for the recently arrived rural immigrants, the homeless, traveling pilgrims, the increasing number of poor, and the seasonal laborers who were so important to the expanding economy. Furthermore, they

helped regulate the flow and integration of immigrant and indigent workers into and out of the Florentine workforce by furnishing hospices and charity to the recently arrived, the unemployed, the underemployed, and the undesirables of society.<sup>89</sup>

The medieval hospital and confraternities were institutions that escape precise definition. Like hospitals today, the medieval institutions took care of the sick; however, they also served travelers, newly arrived immigrants, the poor, orphans, the elderly, and members of confraternities or guilds. In other words, they were the charitable institutions that supported the marginal members of Florentine society, those who seemed to fall outside the mainstream. As John Henderson, the principal historian of Florentine hospitals, has observed, the “role of the late-medieval hospital should be set squarely within the context of other charitable institutions.”<sup>90</sup> We can make the same observation about confraternities, whose purposes were also social and religious. These were exclusive lay “voluntary associations based on the model of brotherhood.” Their function was “to provide mutual support for the living and the dead, support which was often expressed symbolically in communal feasting.”<sup>91</sup>

The numbers of hospitals and confraternities increased between the middle of the thirteenth century and the end of the first third of the fourteenth, especially after 1300. Rapid demographic growth and the growing popularity of confraternities as centers of sociability, spiritual solace, and charity help account for this increase in numbers of hospitals and confraternities. The secular clergy—in both city and countryside—was closely connected to the emergence of confraternities.<sup>92</sup> The desire, if not the perceived need, on the part of many wealthy Florentines to channel substantial amounts of charity to those who either were not benefiting from the economic boom or were themselves the victims of that growth also helps explain this increase (see [Chapter 4](#)). Confraternities and hospitals became the primary institutional means by which that charity was conveyed. Furthermore, like many churches in America today, they helped facilitate the peaceful integration into society of outsiders, newly arrived immigrants, orphans, the unemployed, the sick, and the indigent. The hospital took care of the very people who posed threats to social order during this period of Florentine ascendancy, and it integrated them as much as possible into urban and rural social networks of charity. In periods of acute economic crisis, such as the grain shortages between 1328 and 1330, the confraternities and hospitals of the city, along with communal efforts to import and distribute grain to the needy, helped maintain social peace. Such charity was apparently at variance with a less hospitable public policy toward the poor adopted by the neighbor of Florence to the south, Siena.<sup>93</sup>

I have documented at least twenty-three rural hospitals and at least fourteen rural confraternities in the diocese of Florence before 1330. Charles de La Roncière however has counted 136 hospitals in the countryside around



Florence for a slightly later period (between 1280 and 1340).<sup>94</sup> In the Mugello alone we find three hospitals at Vespignano (San Salvatore), Ronta, and Razzuolo.<sup>95</sup> They cared for pilgrims and travelers on their way to or from Florence. Among those travelers were immigrants making their way from the countryside into a city that provided economic opportunity. The extent to which hospitals served immigrant laborers and helped to regulate the flow of labor into and out of the city is a historical problem that deserves more attention.

Before 1330 there were thirty-nine documented confraternities in Florence and its suburbs, according to figures generated by John Henderson.<sup>96</sup> However, only six documented confraternities existed before 1277. Among the earliest was a lay confraternity associated with the collegiate church of San Lorenzo. Clerical confraternities, such as the one in Padua studied in great depth by Antonio Rigon, began to appear throughout central and north Italy in the late twelfth century. They promoted and protected mutual interests with regard to the care of indigent priests, burial of clerics, and the quality of pastoral care (*cura animarum*).<sup>97</sup>

Between 1277 and 1330, these thirty-nine confraternities were operating in the city, although there could have been as many as forty-five urban confraternities for the period between 1250 and 1349. Episcopal indulgences issued to the confraternities helped facilitate their growth and development. In 1288, for example, Bishop Andrea Mozzi granted twenty- and forty-day indulgences to members of the society at Santa Maria Novella, to those who gathered at lauds, and to those who entered the church on the second Sunday of each month. Six years later those members of the Marian confraternity at Empoli received from Bishop Francesco Monaldeschi an indulgence of forty days for going to church on that day.<sup>98</sup>

In medieval Florence, there were five types of confraternities: flagellant (or *disciplinati*), laud-singing (*laudesi*), charitable (for the poor), artisanal, and societies for children (*fanciulli*). The last two developed only in the fifteenth century. The *laudesi* sponsored the singing of lauds to the Virgin Mary or to specific patron saints, usually painted on altarpieces before which the confraternity gathered. Members of flagellant societies, or *disciplinati*, whipped themselves to atone for their sins and to imitate the suffering of Christ.<sup>99</sup> The most dominant form of confraternity in the city was the *laudesi*, though the flagellant societies proliferated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. *Laudesi* companies such as those of Orsanmichele, Santo Spirito, and Sant'Egidio usually met monthly. Their meetings included processions, and participants often brought wax votive icons (*ceri*) to the sacred images, such as the Madonna at Orsanmichele. Flagellant companies met more frequently, often twice a month. They included companies such as those devoted to Santa Maria and San Lorenzo, both founded between 1250 and 1299. The most important and significant charitable confraternity was Orsanmichele, established in 1291.<sup>100</sup>



One of the best documented confraternities in the city however is that of San Pier Martire, or the confraternity of the Vergine Maria (*laudesi*). It was founded in either 1244 or 1245. Meeting in the still incompletely constructed friary of Santa Maria Novella, the confraternity gathered in the chapel of San Gregorio until 1336. One of its most notable legacies was its commission of Duccio's *Rucellai Madonna* in 1285 (see [Figure 6](#)). Before it, members of the confraternity met regularly by candlelight to sing lauds to the Virgin Mary.<sup>101</sup> The administrative structure of this confraternity was quite complex in the opening decades of the fourteenth century. The number of captains ranged anywhere from four to eight, and there were also two treasurers (*camerlinghi*) appointed to keep track of the many testamentary legacies bequeathed to it. Furthermore, the organization relied on the involvement of six to twelve counselors (*consiglieri*) to manage its governance structure. Testamentary income was significant enough to prompt the priors of the city in 1329 to intervene with the rectors and captains of the confraternities regarding the administration of the property left in wills and testaments.<sup>102</sup>

Villani noted that thirty hospitals existed in 1338 in Florence, a city of 95,000, and a recent estimate suggests that fifty-eight urban hospitals existed between 1200 and 1500. My own count is forty hospitals in the city and its immediate suburbs for the period of this study. Twelve new hospital were founded between 1250 and 1299, and four between 1300 and 1349. For a similar period (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), the commune of Pisa had fifty-five hospitals for 45,000 people and Milan had ten hospitals for 100,000. Pisa seems to have been better served than Florence, but the ratio of hospitals to population was better in Florence than at Milan. A useful comparison to gauge the effectiveness of hospitals in various cities, as John Henderson has suggested, is to examine the ratio of the number of beds to the population. According to Villani, Florence had more than one thousand beds to take care of the chronically or mortally ill, to provide shelter for the poor, and to furnish lodging for pilgrims (especially those traveling to and from Rome). The ratio of beds to residents was a good one: about one bed for every hundred Florentines. The ratio between the number of hospitals and the number of inhabitants was also much better in Florence than in Europe as a whole (where it was about one hospital for every thousand residents). In 1324 and 1325, one of the largest hospitals was San Paolo, which served 707 poor. Most of those being served were women, especially women with children.<sup>103</sup> Donations and endowments given by wealthy laymen, eager to make charitable donations for the sake of their souls and those of their loved ones, facilitated the extraordinary growth in the number of these institutions.

Before 1200 most hospitals in Florence, such as the Spedale di Pinti (founded in 1065), were closely associated with monasteries and churches and took care of elderly monks, nuns, and priests. Spedale di Pinti was located near the convent of San Pier Maggiore. Another of the earliest urban hospitals was that of San Giovanni Evangelista, established between the Baptistry and

the cathedral sometime before 1040 (destroyed in 1296). Most of the new hospitals established between 1284 and 1333 were indeed located in the suburban ring outside the twelfth-century walls but within the circle of the new (post-1284) circuit of walls (see Map 2). Significant hospitals in the city also included San Gallo (founded in 1218), a branch of the hospital at Fontemanzina (from 1229, administered by the Franciscan male tertiaries), San Paolo, Santa Maria della Scala (from 1316 and a sister of the institution of the same name in Siena), and Santa Maria Nuova (1288).<sup>104</sup>



Figure 6. Duccio (c. 1260–1318), *Rucellai Madonna* (formerly in Santa Maria Novella). Uffizi, Florence. Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

One hospital in particular served the clergy, but the exact nature of its origin is unclear. Located on the Via San Gallo in the diocese of San Lorenzo, it served the poor, the ill, and the traveling clergy. According to the legend of its foundation, a priest from the Val di Pesa, a man named Amadeo, arrived in Florence in 1131 and stayed at an inn in the parish of San Piero Scheraggio.

He was appalled (shocked!) to learn that he was actually staying in a bordello. The story goes on to say that Christ appeared to him dressed as a pilgrim and ordered him to ask the prior of Santa Cecilia to provide a proper hospice for traveling priests in the future. Acknowledging that he too had had a similar dream, the bishop then ordered that the churches closest to the gates of the city accommodate traveling priests (hence, the name of the host church rectors became the Preti Portari). The hospital became known as the Ospedale di Gesù Pellegrino, operated by the confraternity of priests (Gesù Pellegrino).

In reality, this legend of its foundation is probably untrue, as the earliest documented reference we have to this confraternity of priests dates from the end of the thirteenth century. The first documentation of a hospital for the clergy (*hospitale clericorum*) comes from the early fourteenth century. In July of 1311 Bishop Antonio degli Orsi authorized the creation of a hospital for the clergy in the parish of San Lorenzo on the Via San Gallo at Camporeggio, the *domus dei*, at the request of a confraternity of the Florentine clergy. Among the donations that went into its endowment was a gift by two women to the rector of Santa Cecilia for a hospital for poor priests and pilgrims. Its foundation provided vital charitable support for the sick and elderly members of the 2 to 3 percent of the Florentine population that constituted the clergy. Several other hospitals on the Via San Gallo welcomed pilgrims and travelers entering the city through its northern gates, and hospitals on the Via Romana did so for travelers coming from the south.<sup>105</sup>

In the course of the thirteenth century, Florentines established at least twenty-four new hospitals in the city and its countryside, a majority of the thirty reported in existence by Villani in 1338.<sup>106</sup> Santa Maria della Scala took care of homeless children. We know very little about this particular hospital, unfortunately, though Petrarch (d. 1374) reported once that conjoined twins were born there (they died sixteen days after their birth). It was one of the favorite institutions of Stefano de Broy, and he left it numerous legacies from his significant estate. In contrast to Santa Maria della Scala, San Gallo was well known for its sheltering of the seriously ill. In 1305, reviewing the large number of the blind and the diseased at San Gallo, the preacher Giordano da Rivalto used the many sick at San Gallo in a sermon to demonstrate that the pain and suffering in evidence at the hospital were the inevitable consequences of sin.<sup>107</sup>

At least two urban hospitals were associated in some way with Dante. In 1288 Folco, the father of Beatrice Portinari, founded the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova near the church of Sant'Egidio, just outside the twelfth-century walls, to minister to the poor and to travelers. It began with seventeen beds but had expanded by 1347 to serve 220 of the sick and poor. The original structure, one of the largest hospitals in the city before the Black Death, included a church, cemetery, refectory, courtyard, the office of the rector, and two large corridors situated at right angles to one another.<sup>108</sup> In 1296 Dante Alighieri, the devoted admirer of Folco's daughter, was among the

magistrates of the city involved in the discussions relating to the demolition of the hospital of San Giovanni Evangelista. It had to be removed so that the Piazza San Giovanni could be expanded to make room for the construction of the new cathedral. Located between the cathedral and the Baptistry, San Giovanni Evangelista was eventually reconstructed outside the circle of walls north of the cathedral complex.<sup>109</sup>

## Elite Institutions of the Secular Clergy

### **San Lorenzo: An Urban Collegiate Church**

San Lorenzo was the principal parish in one of the fastest growing quarters of the city: the area inside the second circle of walls between the Mugnone River and the Cafaggio (see Map 2).<sup>110</sup> It was located on the outskirts of the medieval city, outside the twelfth-century circle of walls and on the periphery between urban squalor and the open fields that stretch north to the foothills of the Apennines. Within the parish were open land and vineyards on one hand, and extremely crowded and cramped living space on the other.<sup>111</sup> Here many immigrating foreigners settled, making rental space hard to come by. These newcomers were served by at least one whorehouse (which the canons of San Lorenzo petitioned the commune to close). Among the many prostitutes serving this tumultuous neighborhood was a woman named Midea, who walked the streets dressed as a man (“Midea est mala mulier quia vadit induta sicut homo”) and played a significant role as a witness in a lawsuit involving the church.<sup>112</sup>

This important collegiate church had among its facilities a refectory, a dormitory, a sanctuary, and cloister. Undoubtedly, within and outside this lively complex of buildings there were crowds engaged in some sort of business transaction, social service, or religious celebration. By the late twelfth century it probably had an affiliated lay confraternity, and by the end of the thirteenth a confraternity of priests.<sup>113</sup> From 1311 the hospital for the clergy emerged next to the church. In the early fourteenth century the canons constructed a new sacristy and borrowed money to repair their cellar.<sup>114</sup> Most of the official business transactions of the chapter took place in the cloister, where witnesses occasionally gathered with a few canons in the presence of a notary to record sales and rent payments, settle disputes, and accept new members. The size, wealth, and prestige made its prebends some of the most sought-after sources of income for career-minded clerics. From the fact that for the 1274–75 papal tenth, the assessment of San Lorenzo was the eighth highest among exempt and nonexempt ecclesiastical institutions of the diocese. For the 1302–3 papal tithe, the tax paid by the prior for his prebend was almost the same as that paid by the cathedral canons.<sup>115</sup>

The organizational structure of San Lorenzo resembled other large collegiate churches, and a set of constitutions dating from 1287 governed its

affairs.<sup>116</sup> The number of its canons doubled in the eighty years of our study.<sup>117</sup> In comparison, the size of the rural church of Impruneta remained the same, perhaps because of the difference in resources they had available. In 1250 San Lorenzo had five canons, including the prior, Fede. The number had increased to ten by the end of the thirteenth century, including a prior, seven priests, a subdeacon, and a deacon.<sup>118</sup> Two canons of the chapter usually served as treasurers (called *camerarii*, a term first used in the early fourteenth century), charged with the responsibility of supervising chapter income. These officials handled economic transactions, including the payment of rents. For example, in 1270, Presbyter Diedi, canon and treasurer (“*canonicus et camerarius ecclesie Sancti Laurentii*”), acknowledged receiving two lire as rent for a parcel of land and a vineyard in the parish of San Marco owned by San Lorenzo.<sup>119</sup>

On any given day, the parish church was a very noisy and crowded place, a center of the mundane and religious activities of the community. Acting on behalf of the chapter, its syndics and procurators bustled about performing a number of secular duties. For example, in 1276, we see that Presbyter Recupero, probably a canon, served as the chapter’s syndic when a papal delegate rendered a legal decision in Florence that affected San Lorenzo’s claims to a house in the parish. Another syndic, Cione dei Uberti, presented the case of the chapter before the episcopal vicar to defend its rights to another house in 1288.<sup>120</sup> The pastoral duties of the collegiate church of San Lorenzo resembled those of any other large urban parish: the hearing of confessions, the burial of the dead, the recitation of the Divine Office, the administration of the sacraments, and the preaching of the gospel. Aside from the canons, there were in the church several chaplains (*cappellani*) who assisted in the religious services. These were probably the people most responsible for the day-to-day administration of divine services. Among them were Presbyters Ambrogio, Restoro, and Manno, who served in the church in 1276, 1278, and 1283, respectively. Also assisting the canons and chaplains in sacramental duties in 1277 were various clerics including Dato, Ambrogio, and Nerio. These chaplains and clergymen were also available to stand in as witnesses on the official business occasions of the chapter.<sup>121</sup> The canons of San Lorenzo were able to elect some of these chaplains who were charged with specific chapels in the church. For example, in 1326, following the last will and testament of Guerrante di Arrigo da Marignolle, the canons gathered to elect a chaplain to serve the endowed chapel dedicated by the testator to San Matteo.<sup>122</sup> Chaplains like this one appear to have been assigned at least one altar, and their responsibilities ideally included the daily celebration of mass and the recitation of the Divine Office.<sup>123</sup>

As Florence assumed its role of leadership within the Guelf alliance, the papacy sought to place more of its allies in high church positions. San Lorenzo was no exception. Bellondo di Compagno, a canon of the cathedral chapter of Fiesole, was one such papal ally. His appointment generated

considerable opposition within the chapter and led eventually to violent armed assaults perpetrated by canons against other canons in 1258 and 1260.<sup>124</sup> In 1263, the papal curia sought the appointment of Ruggero dei Frescobaldi, a member of the papally connected banking family, as prior of San Lorenzo.<sup>125</sup> It appears that Ruggero had been recommended to the post by his patron, Sigerio dei Marescalchi, himself a member of the papal curia.<sup>126</sup> By 1265 the appointment had unleashed a struggle between the two factions: the partisans of Jacopo degli Abbati and the supporters of Ruggero. The latter's resignation in 1270, accepted by the papacy so that he could marry, led to another round of recriminations and conflict over a successor. Eventually, the bishop had to intervene.<sup>127</sup>

San Lorenzo was also involved in a series of disputes with neighboring ecclesiastical institutions and laymen. The principal causes of these conflicts were the definition of parish boundaries and pastoral rights (and the income that came with them), delinquency in the payment of rents,<sup>128</sup> and property disputes with local landlords.<sup>129</sup> In a zone of the city that was becoming more crowded every day, it was not unusual for disputes over parish boundaries and mortuary income to flourish. At the end of the thirteenth century the area was apparently becoming a favorite location for immigrating northern Europeans. Many of them apparently preferred to patronize the friars of San Giovanni Battista (the Knights of the Order of Saint John, Hospitalers), even though they were living and dying in the parish of San Lorenzo. A dispute broke out between the two religious bodies over burial rights and fees and confessions, and an accord was reached in 1276.<sup>130</sup> Fifty years later, San Lorenzo was before the episcopal court in another conflict, this time involving relations with several neighboring convents.<sup>131</sup> Almost a third of all extant thirteenth-century documents associated with San Lorenzo concerns another long-standing and extremely complex dispute between the chapter of canons and the family of the Chiarissimi over a house on the Borgo San Lorenzo. This story, so amply and clearly described in all its perplexing detail by William Bowsky, involves documents that date from 1244 to 1289.<sup>132</sup> The outcome of the dispute was indeterminate, but it demonstrates the extent to which the collegiate church was willing to go to protect its rental property in this colorful parish.

## The Cathedral Chapter

Wealthier and larger than the collegiate church of San Lorenzo, the cathedral chapter of the city presided over the *pieve* of San Giovanni and was associated with the cathedral of Santa Reparata, renamed Santa Maria del Fiore in 1296.<sup>133</sup> In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the chapter supported about thirteen canons, which seems low in comparison to other Italian cities. Cremona, for example, a much smaller city than Florence, supported fifteen, and in the south, Rieti sustained a community of twenty to twenty-one.



Nearby Fiesole included four canons, plus the head (*preposto*) of the chapter. Padua, a city with a third the population of Florence, had twenty prebends for chapter canons in its cathedral in 1333, fixed by statute.<sup>134</sup> There were nineteen prebends in Florence in 1302, but the number had dropped to thirteen by the end of the decade. In 1310, according to its new constitution, the chapter was to have no more than twelve canons, plus one *preposto*.<sup>135</sup>

The cathedral chapter included a number of other men who assumed a variety of official duties. Aside from the canons and *preposto* (or head), there were an archpresbyter, an archdeacon, a keeper of accounts (*carnerarius*), and several chaplains (*cappellani*). As at San Lorenzo, chaplains assisted with the pastoral and sacramental duties of the chapter, including the celebration of mass and the recitation of the Divine Office, and they also apparently assisted the dying. The canons selected chaplains whenever there was a vacancy. In the early fourteenth century they handled many of the daily duties associated with pastoral care. In 1301 there were six chaplains, and in 1319 there were at least three.<sup>136</sup> The *earnerarius*, who could also be the archpresbyter, was responsible for the leasing of chapter property.<sup>137</sup> Like the other ecclesiastical institutions we have examined, the chapter often elected from among their number on an ad hoc basis procurators and syndics to represent the chapter on official business. For example, in 1262 the canons appointed three syndics to collect the chapter's seignorial dues, rents, and tithes ("datia et accatum, afficta, pensiones, decima, et redditus") in the Mugello. Between 1293 and 1337 the institution also had a new officer, a treasurer.<sup>138</sup>

The duties of the cathedral canons were numerous. Members of the cathedral chapter regularly appear to have fulfilled the responsibilities required of them. They appointed the archpriests of San Giovanni, as they did in 1281, managed their estates responsibly, and policed themselves over the issue of absenteeism.<sup>139</sup> During episcopal vacancies, the cathedral chapter was responsible for maintaining sacramental continuity and for fulfilling the duties of the bishop until a new one was appointed. In 1321, following the death of Antonio degli Orsi, the chapter appointed Rainerio, prior of Santo Stefano di Lucignano, as vicar of the diocese. In the absence of the bishop, it was to him that a canon of Impruneta, Lorenzo del fu Venuto, petitioned for permission to borrow 250 florins to help pay for the lawsuit against Federico dei Bardi. It was also during this vacancy that the chapter fulfilled its legal obligations in the absence of the bishop to conduct the investigation of this same canon, Lorenzo, for murder. The cathedral chapter appointed the archpriest of Décimo to conduct the inquisition regarding this "homicide and any other aberrant behavior" (*supra homicidio et alio quocumque excessu*).<sup>140</sup>

When the canons were not in Florence, as was true often for Stefano de Broy, they required the archpriest of San Giovanni to reside in the city. It was he who was primarily responsible for overseeing the pastoral and sacramental duties of the chapter. If he failed to perform his duties adequately, he could

lose his job. In 1301, for example, the canons excommunicated the archpriest for not residing in the church and Baptistery of San Giovanni.<sup>141</sup> Overall, the absence of canons probably had little effect on the day-to-day spiritual obligations of the cathedral, as this was a primary responsibility of the chaplains (*cappellani*) and the archpriest. To make sure pastoral needs were being met, the canons regularly met to choose new *cappellani*, as they did in 1324 when they appointed Guido Andrea to the post.<sup>142</sup> One gets the clear impression that while some canons might have been on business for the papacy or engaged in various conflicts with the bishop or among themselves, they left the day-to-day pastoral duties of the chapter to their chaplains (*capellani*) and archpriest.

The cathedral chapter possessed patronage rights in a large number of ecclesiastical institutions (see Appendix D), and they seemed to have exercised their responsibilities as church patrons responsibly. Not only were the canons able to appoint the archpriest of San Giovanni, but they also had patronage rights in two other *pievi* in the countryside, Figline and Signa (see Map 1).<sup>143</sup> Furthermore, they had the customary rights to elect the priors of the urban parishes Santa Maria Maggiore and Sant'Andrea, as well as the rectors of seven other churches in the Valdarno and Mugello (see Appendix D). The possession of patronage rights to key *pievi* and churches inside and outside the city significantly enhanced the influence of the cathedral chapter. Within the estate (*collatio*) of the chapter in the city were Sant'Apollinare, Sant'Andrea, San Matteo, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Bartolo a Cintoia, and the hospital of San Giovanni Evangelista. For the most part, the temporal possessions of the cathedral chapter in the last decade of the thirteenth century were concentrated in the city or suburbs, with one major exception. Outside the city was their possession of patronage rights and properties in the *pieve* of San Giovanni di Signa. These rights were occasionally contested. In 1319, for example, the cathedral chapter had to summon witnesses to be deposed in a case against Presbyter Michèle, a man who claimed to be archpriest of Signa against the wishes of the chapter.<sup>144</sup>

The canons were also responsible for the election of the most important ecclesiastical officer in the diocese: the bishop. However, from the end of the thirteenth century, the hand of the papacy was more and more apparent in these elections. Stimulated by the reform movement in the eleventh century, from the early twelfth century cathedral chapters in Italy began to take more of a role in the selection of new bishops. In the period covered by this study, there were seven successful elections, and many of them were contentious. Sometimes the arguments were so severe that the selection of a new bishop was impossible, as occurred during the episcopal vacancy between 1274 and 1286. Only the appointment by the pope of a Dominican friar from Perugia, Jacopo Rainucci, brought that dispute to an end. The selection of bishops from outside the city—especially Dominicans—was common in many thirteenth century dioceses where factional struggles were present.<sup>145</sup> On June 8, 1286,

in the choir of the cathedral, Jacopo, the *preposto* of the chapter, read in a high voice to his assembled colleagues the papal letter of appointment delivered to him by the Dominican prior of Santa Maria Novella.<sup>146</sup> Unfortunately, since this new Dominican bishop died within a year, the chapter had to gather once again to choose a bishop. Once more the chapter split, but the majority elected the Florentine Andrea Mozzi, a cathedral canon from a prominent banking family whose ties to the papacy were strong.<sup>147</sup>

Episcopal appointments to the chapter often led to factional infighting. This is precisely what happened in 1292, when Bishop Andrea Mozzi awarded a prebend to his nephew Aldobrandino dei Cavalcanti. Aldobrandino was already a noted scholar of canon law and a canon of San Lorenzo. This appointment provoked heated opposition from within the chapter. Irritated at their recalcitrance regarding this appointment, Bishop Andrea Mozzi excommunicated and interdicted the canons. Perhaps to give himself more bargaining power, the bishop was also simultaneously claiming patronage rights to the urban church of Sant'Andrea, which had been traditionally within the estate (*collatio*) of the cathedral chapter since the tenth century. He also sought to collect a consecration fee from the diocesan clergy, designed to pay expenses incurred during his own ceremonial entry into the city. In September of 1292, however, the bishop and ten canons of the chapter reached a compromise: the chapter accepted Aldobrandino as one of their own, the interdict and the excommunication were lifted, and the bishop restored Sant'Andrea to the chapter. He also withdrew his appeal to the papal court regarding the payment of the consecration fee. The consecration fee remained an issue of contention until a final decision by the bishop in 1305 to fix the amount at two thousand florins resolved the dispute. Serving as procurator on behalf of the chapter in this dispute was Stefano de Broy.<sup>148</sup>

Clashes resumed when many in the chapter objected to the prelate's creation in 1293 of the new office of chapter treasurer, to which he attempted to appoint this same nephew. To provide him with financial support for his new position, the bishop sought to give him access to the income of the hospital of Santa Reparata (also called San Giovanni Evangelista), an institution dedicated to the welfare of the poor. The income from shops built into the structure was to go to the poor. These actions by the bishop again met with determined opposition from an antiepiscopal minority within the chapter, and it led to another episcopal excommunication. The hospital administrator (*hospitalarius*) Chele Benvenuti resisted and appealed to the papacy, and the bishop responded by having him jailed in his castle at Monterotondo. The conclusion of this affair was bizarre: Aldobrandino soon left the clergy to marry. We must assume that the income of the hospital remained outside the control of the institution. Two years later (1295) the papacy transferred Bishop Andrea Mozzi to the see of Vicenza.<sup>149</sup>

The resignation of Aldobrandino left the door open for the papacy to make its own appointment, and it favored a member of a banking family with close

ties to the curia.<sup>150</sup> In 1297 Giovanni Angiolini dei Machiavelli claimed against chapter objections that he had received the appointment from the papal legate, Pietro di Piperno. He challenged the claims to the post by the chapter *preposto*, Tebaldo.<sup>151</sup> The papal legate, Matthew of Acquasparta, settled the dispute in favor of Machiavelli, a papal ally who had been siding with the pro-papal Donati faction (Blacks) in the current factional struggles within the city. The Machiavelli also enjoyed close ties to the Bardi company, in which the brother of Giovanni, Buoninsegna Angiolini, was apparently a major shareholder (*comproprietario*). Close economic ties between the papacy and one's upwardly mobile banking family were always helpful to one's promotion to high ecclesiastical office. The legate observed that the election of Machiavelli had indeed been done according to proper canonical procedure by the cardinal deacon of Santa Maria Nuova, who had been papal legate in Tuscany. Before he won his case, however, Giovanni Machiavelli had to face a number of scurrilous charges lodged by his enemies, including allegations of rape (involving the abbess of the Carmelites), aggravated assault (on a priest and a son of a priest), and pederasty. What canon law could not accomplish, reasoned his opponents, personal attacks detailing sex crimes might.<sup>152</sup> The office of treasurer did not last much longer, however. By 1337 the papacy had decided to abolish it once and for all.<sup>153</sup>

In some cases, especially those that involved Black-White rivalries, conflicts involving the cathedral chapter could escalate into major confrontations that could last decades before they were resolved. In 1311, for example, in one of the most famous cases, the friars at Santa Maria Novella and the canons of the cathedral chapter fell out over the burial rights and mortuary income associated with the funeral of Betto dei Brunelleschi. Betto had been an arch enemy of the Black Guelfs, the pro-papal faction, and he had been a man with strong Ghibelline ties. Nevertheless, association with him and his family carried an enormous amount of prestige for a variety of religious communities in the city. The friars claimed that surviving family members of the deceased had awarded them the scarlet cloth or pall (*pannum de scarleto*) that served as his funeral shroud, even though he had been buried in the cathedral. Normally, the clergy of the institution in which the burial had taken place had the right to resell the funeral vestments and other materials associated with the funeral. Two cathedral chapter presbyters (*cappellani*) testified in their deposition that the friars had stolen the pall in the Piazza San Giovanni from their own hands. This dispute over privileges to the burial vestments (*super funeralibus defunctorum et decedentium*) lasted a decade. In 1321, ten years after the alleged theft took place, the Dominican theologian Hervé de Nédellec settled on a compromise. The secular clergy had a right to three-fourths of funeral vestments, and the friars could take a quarter.<sup>154</sup> The dispute seems to modern eyes to have been trivial. However, to the protagonists, this argument was emblematic of far broader issues swirling around the conflicting claims to pastoral and burial rights: the conflict

between secular and mendicant, the impact of immigration and population growth on the exercise of pastoral care within the city, and the indeterminacy of parish boundaries. Like so many other long and difficult disputes, this one ended in a compromise.

## The Bishoprics of Florence and Fiesole

The palace of the bishop in the Piazza del Duomo was the principal residence and administrative center for the bishop, even though from the late thirteenth century several bishops had chosen to live elsewhere. Like monarchs, these late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century prelates moved from one residence to another throughout the diocese. They included the new palace built by Bishop Andrea Mozzi adjacent to the monastery of San Miniato overlooking the city (see [Figure 7](#)), the various homes of the kinsmen of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, or the new episcopal residence outside the city at Montughi. Adjacent to the palace itself was the small Romanesque church of San Salvatore, where the prelates heard and adjudicated disputes and conflicts brought to their attention. In this small church episcopal officials handled the business of the bishopric, which included the buying, selling, and exchange of properties and possessions extending from the Bolognese frontier to the border with Siena. Here episcopal agents drew up leases with tenants and gathered their rents. There was also a storeroom (*cella*) and granary, which filled to capacity in late summer in the good years with the rental payments of episcopal tenants. Also within the structure was the episcopal archive, managed by the official notaries of the bishopric who scrupulously recorded all that transpired in the church of San Salvatore, especially after 1300. Not all the business handled in the palace or in San Salvatore was worldly: in the chapel of the palace the bishop and his household usually gathered to celebrate the principal feast days.<sup>155</sup> Nearby, southeast of the Baptistry, was the church of Santa Maria in Campo, where the bishops of Fiesole handled their official business (see Map 2). Since 1228 the church had been in the possession of the prelates of Fiesole, awarded to them by Pope Gregory IX as compensation for some of the possessions they had lost at the hands of the commune of Florence.<sup>156</sup>



Figure 7. Bishop's palace, San Miniato al Monte, Florence, begun in the late thirteenth century. G. Dameron.

There were seven bishops of Florence during the two generations covered by this study, and the development of their history underscores the growing connections between the bishop and the political and strategic interests of the papacy. They were Giovanni dei Mangiadori (1251–74), Jacopo Rainucci (1286), Andrea Mozzi (1286–95), Francesco Monaldeschi (1295–1301), Lottieri della Tosa (1302–9), Antonio degli Orsi (1309–21), and Francesco Silvestri (1323–41). Once appointed, the bishops exercised authority over the clergy in the diocese, with the exception of those clergy in communities that were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. In many cases these exemptions served the interests of the papacy, as they placed some ecclesiastical communities under the direct control of the curia. However, they also served to weaken the power of the bishop within his own diocese. For example, papal privileges of exemption that dated from the pontificates of Adrian IV (1154–59) and Gregory IX (1227–41) extended to eighteen churches within the *pieve* of Impruneta. Reaffirmed in 1291, this exemption was probably the legal basis on which the papacy proceeded in 1322 to award Frederico dei Bardi with the office of archpriest of the *pieve* of Impruneta.<sup>157</sup> New foundations of ecclesiastical institutions, especially hospitals, also often received privileges of exemption, further complicating the abilities of Florentine bishops to govern their diocese efficiently. One such example dates from 1299, when the papacy exempted the hospital of San Bartolomeo (founded by Benuccio Senni in the parish of Santa Lucia) from episcopal jurisdiction.<sup>158</sup>

The responsibilities of the bishops were many. They were solemnly responsible for the cure of souls (*cura animarum*) of all those living within



the diocese. They were required to ensure uniformity of faith. Furthermore, they were responsible for making sure that all had access to the sacraments that dispensed the grace necessary for salvation. Among the most important of their responsibilities was the supervision of the religious life of the community. That included, after 1284, the supervision of the restoration and reconstruction of the cathedral of Santa Reparata, and after the mid-1290s, assistance in overseeing the creation of the new cathedral, to be named Santa Maria del Fiore.<sup>159</sup> The bishops, or their vicars, confirmed clergy in clerical orders,<sup>160</sup> granted permission for the recitation of the Divine Office,<sup>161</sup> served as executors of testaments,<sup>162</sup> examined instances of the destruction of church property,<sup>163</sup> ordained priests,<sup>164</sup> and adjudicated cases involving marriage, usury, and adultery.<sup>165</sup> The bishop was also called upon on certain occasions to issue dispensations to various individuals, sometimes at papal request. In 1297, for example, Boniface VIII asked the bishop to invent a pious substitute for a particular man's inability to go on pilgrimage to Santiago Compostela. When charged by the papacy to be involved in the investigation of other high church officials for corruption, as happened in the case of the abbot of Vallombrosa (Bartolo Ceci) in the second decade of the fourteenth century, the bishop served as an investigator.<sup>166</sup> They also supervised and safeguarded the rights and privileges of the church vis-à-vis the commune, served as a liaison between the local clergy and the papal curia and the commune, and exercised overall responsibility for the poor in their diocese. In 1317, for example, Bishop Antonio degli Orsi referred to himself as the "father and legitimate administrator of the goods of the poor" (*pater et legitimus administrator bonorum pauperum*). The bishops oversaw clerical discipline, presided over the rituals and ceremonies associated with the principal cults of the diocese, ordained members of the clergy, and resolved local ecclesiastical disputes. Canon law required them to make regular visitations throughout the diocese, but there is no evidence that they did so in a systematic way before the 1330s. The principal feasts which they oversaw in Florence were those of Saints Reparata, John the Baptist, Zenobius, and Vincent. Like their counterparts throughout Europe, Florentine bishops presided over an episcopal court, which had jurisdiction over family matters, sexual behavior, usury, and marriages.<sup>167</sup>

Since the Second Council of Lyon (1274), bishops had the right to decide on the assessment of the amounts of ill-gotten gains (*male ablata*) that had been acquired by a usurer. There were actually two types of usurious funds: *certa* were those ill-gotten gains taken from identifiable, specific people; *incerta* were those taken from persons unknown. The repentant usurer was required to restore the *certa* to those specific individuals. The restitution of *incerta*, however, was supposed to go to the poor, and many legal scholars believed it was the responsibility of the bishop to make sure that this happened. In 1290, for example, Alberto, count of Mangona, left the bishops of Florence and Pistoia a sum of two thousand lire, charging them with the



responsibility of distributing it to those who could demonstrate that they had been victims of his usury. Nine years later the bishop, in session in his palace, ordered the restitution of a much greater sum acquired through usury: three thousand gold florins. Some usurers confessed to the bishop, promising to restore the funds. One such person was Ser Bonagiunta dei Medici, parish of San Tommaso, who confessed to the prelate that he had extorted usurious moneys, and he listed the specific individuals who were his victims. In 1318 the vicar of the bishop received a legacy of twenty-five lire from the executor of the estate of a usurer, who wanted the bishop to distribute these illicit funds from uncertain sources (*incerta*) to the poor (“pro suorum restitutione incertorum”).<sup>168</sup> The bishops’ handling of these kinds of moneys, especially the larger sums, troubled communal officials. The synodal constitution of 1327 claimed that one-third of all *incerta* should go to the bishopric, one-third of the amount was to go to the local parish, and one-third was to go to the executors of the testament for pious causes. However, these provisions were disputed legally by the commune, and by 1330 the bishopric was apparently constrained to drop its claim to one-third of all unspecified legacies (*indistincte*).<sup>169</sup>

The period between the death of one bishop and the installation of another was potentially destabilizing for the church. Between 1204 and 1323 there were eleven such vacancies. During the vacancies, a *consorteria* (family alliance) of the Visdomini, Tosinghi, and Aliotti families normally managed the properties of the episcopal estate, just as it had done since the eleventh century. Usually, each of the three families of the *consorteria* took turns taking primary responsibility for the management of the estate. During these vacancies the cathedral chapter stepped in to handle the spiritual duties of the vacant bishopric. In the winter of 1322 (February 9 and 10), for example, the canons met to appoint a vicar general shortly after the death of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi. One of their first duties was to confirm the appointment of Bene di Nero as archpriest of Impruneta and appoint the archpriest of Décimo to investigate the homicide at Impruneta. In 1323, when the abbess of San Pier Maggiore asked the cathedral chapter for a judgment regarding the right to be buried at the monastery in the habit of Saint Benedict, for example, the episcopal notary, Ser Benedetto di Messer Martino, responded on behalf of cathedral chapter in the affirmative.<sup>170</sup>

The longest period during which the Visdomini and Tosinghi managed the estate of the bishop was during the vacancy between 1274 and 1286. During this period they did not hesitate to use the resources of the bishopric for their own purposes. In 1276 they made a listing of rural communities in which the bishopric had the right to appoint local magistrates (*podestà*), done most likely to create an inventory of episcopal privileges available to them during the vacancy. Apparently, at the same time, they also used the assets of the bishopric for loans. For example, in 1277 they had a notary draw up a list of those who owed the bishopric certain amounts of money. When individual

members of these families drew up their testaments years later, perhaps concerned about the consequences that their “loans” from the bishopric might have on the destiny of their souls, they made provisions to restore the funds that they had taken. In 1279, the Visdomini deputized Bindo di Guido di Aldobrandino dei Visdomini to lease episcopal possessions while the bishopric was vacant. This is the same Bindo dei Visdomini who had stipulated in his testament that ten lire be restituted to the bishopric from his estate. Whether it represented a debt he was repaying or money he took and regretted is not important. What is noteworthy is that Visdomini like Bindo took episcopal assets as their own. When Jacopo Rainucci da Perugia, the new Dominican prelate of Florence, took office in 1286, one of his first tasks was to recover episcopal property from the Visdomini administrators. Lottieri dei Visdomini restored 496 lire of those funds, which represented his portion of the income of the bishopric (“pro sua parte de frutti del predetto vescovato”). That still left, apparently, 700 lire, 100 lire of which was then shortly paid by two other Visdomini.<sup>171</sup>

To combat this sort of venality, among other aims, the Fourth Lateran Council required prelates throughout Europe to rationalize and make more efficient their administrative bureaucracies and households. From the middle of the thirteenth century the bishops expanded their staffs to include a variety of officers to assist them in their official duties. They included notaries, treasurers (*carnerarii*), syndics and procurators, and vicars. Presiding over an extensive administrative structure that linked the city to the countryside, the episcopal household steadily grew between 1250 and 1330 to accommodate an increased number of responsibilities and parishioners. Among the many episcopal vicars who appear in the documents were Accursius (active in 1260), Lamberto (the archpriest of Quaracchi), and Enrico di Sant’Elpidio.<sup>172</sup> At least eleven men served as episcopal vicars in the eighty years covered by this study. Among the most important episcopal notaries were Ser Benedetto di Messer Martino and Ser Ricovero di Aldobrandino. A contemporary of Benedetto and Ricovero, Ser Bindo di Romeo da Calenzano was constantly moving from one episcopal estate to another, collecting rents, repairing fulling mills, or serving as a witness on episcopal business. Among the close associates of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi was also the poet Francesco da Barberino.<sup>173</sup>

Before 1300 the influence of this administration over affairs in some parts of the countryside seems to have been more extensive and efficient than that of the communal Signoria. It administered the episcopal estate, or *mensa*, supervised an episcopal court that resolved local diocesan disputes, disciplined unruly clerics, oversaw the pastoral life of the two dioceses, and regulated the economic life of ecclesiastical institutions. Among the bishop’s most important duties was the resolution of conflicts between religious communities. In 1297, for example, Bishop Francesco Monaldeschi presided over the union of the gray and black friars of penitence. In 1329, an

episcopally appointed arbitrator, Uberto Guidi, devised a resolution to a dispute over the patronage of the hospital Santa Maria Nuova.<sup>174</sup> The prelates also continued to play a significant role in the economic and political affairs of several rural communities, including Castelfiorentino, Monte di Croce, and Borgo San Lorenzo (see Map 1). In particular, drawing on the seigneurial rights that were centuries old, they continued to be able to appoint the chief political officers (*potestates*) of several rural communes.<sup>175</sup>

Through the exercise of the ecclesiastical patronage rights and the regulation of the buying and selling of ecclesiastical lands, the bishops were able to elect numerous clergymen to some of the most powerful ecclesiastical positions in the region (see Appendix D). By so doing, they influenced the management of church property and exerted some control over the flow of money within the diocese. Indeed, they possessed more patronage rights to churches and hospitals than any other person, family, or institution in the diocese. They wielded formidable powers as patrons of Santo Stefano di Campoli, Sant'Andrea di Fabbrica, Santa Cecilia a Décimo, San Miniato al Monte, and San Martino Episcopi.<sup>176</sup> Furthermore, they influenced the pulse of the economic life of the clergy under their jurisdiction. The requirement of all members of the clergy within the diocese to obtain a license for major economic transactions gave the bishops of Florence and Fiesole a role in the regulation of economic life. Any ecclesiastical institution that intended to buy or sell property or to contract a loan needed first to get a license from the episcopal curia. In one of the most far-reaching decisions made by the bishops regarding the borrowing of money, for example, the vicar gave all churches in the diocese of Florence permission in 1304 to borrow funds. This was necessary because the bishopric had required the clergy to reimburse the papal legate for the cost of animals he had lost during his recent sojourn in the city. Clergy who did not contribute to this reimbursement were to be excommunicated.<sup>177</sup> Licenses for the buying and selling of ecclesiastical property and for the borrowing of money were not infrequent. In 1304, in one of numerous examples, the vicar gave the church of San Michèle Berteldi permission to borrow money.<sup>178</sup>

## **The Episcopal Court and the Synodal Constitutions of 1310 and 1327**

Like other bishops throughout Europe, Florentine prelates presided over an episcopal tribunal, which addressed disputes involving ecclesiastical institutions, sexuality, clerical behavior, usury, and marriage. We have documentation for at least twenty-seven cases that went before the court between 1250 and 1330. Its role in a deeply factionalized commune was to adjudicate and resolve cases that lay outside the jurisdiction of civil courts, especially those involving disputes over pastoral rights in those zones of the

city undergoing the most rapid population growth, the outlying suburbs. For those who ran afoul of the bishop, there was a jail below the episcopal palace; another potential location for detention was in the episcopal *castello* at Monterotondo. However, the jailing of the recalcitrant was rare. Most cases were settled peacefully. A few involved private disputes. For example, in one of the rare documented cases involving a marriage, a woman, Vanna del fu Giovanni, brought a suit in the fall of 1319 against her husband, Niccolò di Lapo, for adultery. Both were apparently already separated when the case was adjudicated; she lived in the parish of Santissimi Apostoli, and he, in Santa Maria Novella. Naming the third party (Silvestra di Andrea, parish of San Paolo), she pleaded with the bishop for some sort of legal separation. In his judgment, Bishop Antonio degli Orsi granted permission to separate. Among the most important and frequent issues that came before the court did not involve marriage, however; they concerned usury and the restitution of ill-gotten gains, two areas under episcopal jurisdiction. In 1314, for example, the vicar of the bishop, Parigi, archpriest of Vaglia, decided that Piero Guardi of Florence could not receive as repayment more than the sixty gold florins he had loaned Lapo di Filippo. Anything above that amount was usury. Apparently, Lapo initially had paid Piero seventy. In this and other cases, if a plaintiff was dissatisfied with the result of a decision by the bishop or his vicar, he could always appeal to the papal court (assuming he could afford it).<sup>179</sup>

Occasionally cases involving the personal politics of the bishop appeared before the court. In cases like these, the right to appeal to the papal court could serve as a check on the extent of episcopal power. When Bishop Andrea Mozzi (1286–95) *tried* to award his nephew Aldobrandino dei Cavalcanti the prebend in the hospital of Santa Reparata (San Giovanni Evangelista) in 1293, his opponent, the *hospitalarius* (warden) Chele Benvenuti, found himself sued by Aldobrandino in the episcopal court. Chele apparently refused to appear, knowing full well that the hearing would not be fair. It was at this point, apparently, that the bishop showed Chele his hospitality by locking him up in his tower at the episcopal castle (*castello*) of Monterotondo. Ranieri dei Ghiberti, a cathedral canon, was made judge of the case. The procurator of Chele Benvenuti accused the bishop before the judge of squandering both the property of Chele as well as that of the hospital. Chele went on to appeal to the papacy, as was his right, and he apparently managed to survive despite the pressures exerted on him by the bishop and his kinsmen. In 1312, he was apparently still serving as the *hospitalarius* of the hospital of the cathedral chapter.<sup>180</sup>

Many of the cases before the court involved disputes over ownership of church property, disputed ecclesiastical elections, parish boundaries in the zones of highest immigration, and burial rights. For example, in 1276 a case came before the bishop's court involving San Lorenzo and San Giovanni Battista, in which the two institutions fought over burial rights and

confessions involving immigrants. In 1301 the episcopal vicar presided over the case between the *pieve* of Impruneta and the church of Sant'Ilario a Pitigliolo over burial rights, deciding in favor of the former. The most extensively documented case to come before the episcopal court was in 1288 and involved the struggle between the collegiate church of San Lorenzo and the family of Chiarissimo over the title to a house in the parish. In 1316 the court heard a case initiated by the Vallombrosan abbots (including Passignano and Strumi) from various dioceses against the election of Bartolo Ceci as abbot of Vallombrosa. They appeared before the court of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi, claiming that the election had been uncanonical. In another case, San Lorenzo appeared again before the episcopal tribunal in 1326, when the bishop adjudicated a conflict between the collegiate church and neighboring convents regarding pastoral rights.<sup>181</sup>

Equally important in the process of conflict resolution and diocesan governance were the synodal constitutions of 1310 and 1327. According to James Brundage, synods were forums for the discussion “of local issues and could adopt legislation, in the form of synodal canons or decrees, when that seemed indicated, to cope with recurring problems.”<sup>182</sup> The sixth decree of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 called for bishops to issue statutes designed to regulate clerical life within their dioceses.<sup>183</sup> As was true regarding the pace of other administrative developments, Florence was behind other communes in the issuing of episcopal constitutions. Its three constitutions appeared in 1305 (Lottieri della Tosa), 1310 (Antonio degli Orsi), and 1327 (Francesco Silvestri).<sup>184</sup>

### Ecclesiastical Patronage Rights in the City and Countryside

The majority of ecclesiastical patronage rights in the diocese were held by the bishop, the cathedral chapter, and monastic establishments. The stability and predictability of the exercise of those rights brought some steadiness to the governance of communities throughout the diocese during the period of rapid transition between 1250 and 1330, especially in the countryside. Several points are worth noting in this regard. The exercise of patronage rights appears to have been stable, with the exception of those situations in which the papacy challenged traditional patrons to promote its own candidates. This lack of disruption in the manner by which ecclesiastical institutions were staffed indicates a level of stability and predictability in the way by which churches were governed, especially in the countryside. Presiding over the most extensive network of churches in the diocese was the bishop. This has two important implications. Since there were so few lay urban patrons with rights in the countryside, episcopal patronage was one of the most significant links connecting the city with its hinterland before 1330. Indeed, the high percentage of patronage rights held by the bishopric meant that it wielded considerable influence in many communities in the diocese. As the papacy

increased its leverage over the bishopric after 1250, it was able to bring more of its own influence to bear on local communities. At the same time as the papal curia sought greater control over the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage rights in both city and countryside, however, it brought an element of instability and conflict to these patronage arrangements that had not existed before.<sup>185</sup> This instability was a logical consequence of the process of papal provision—the singling out of specific ecclesiastical offices for papal clients. The increased number of ecclesiastical offices subject to papal provision reflected the growing importance of the Florentine church to the papal curia.

Surviving documents between 1250 and 1330 identify the patronage rights to at least 142 ecclesiastical offices in the city and countryside (see Appendix D), and the bishopric controlled two-fifths of them. This is a significant fact. In a diocese where there were few urban lords with influence in the countryside—relative to other Tuscan communes—the Florentine bishop was unique. For that reason, the preservation of the presence of the Florentine bishop in the *contado* was embraced as policy by the urban secular elite. The breakdown of the principal patrons of ecclesiastical communities is as follows: the prelate of Florence held patronage rights to fifty-six institutions (39 percent of the total); the cathedral chapter to thirteen (9 percent); prominent lay families to twenty-two (15 percent); monasteries and convents to twenty-three (16 percent); parishioners to thirteen (9 percent). When we add together the number of patronage rights held by lay families and parishioners, we learn that the laity had patronage rights in 24 percent of all those documented in the city and countryside. This figure contrasts sharply with that of Pisa (in the year 1400), where lay patrons and parishioners constituted about 62 percent of the patrons. There, 27 percent were churchmen, and the bishop held only 7 percent of the rights (as compared to 39 percent for the bishop of Florence). In Florence, a larger proportion of patronage rights in the countryside was held by the bishopric and fewer offices were controlled by the laity. This may simply reflect the nature of the surviving documentation, but it could also indicate that the Florentine bishop presided over a vast patronage network that was primarily (but not exclusively) rural. The bishops had few rights in urban ecclesiastical institutions, but they had extensive power to make appointments in the countryside. With regard to urban patronage rights, the Florentine bishops resembled the archbishops of Pisa. In that Tuscan city in 1400, the archbishop could make appointments in only four of Pisa's sixty urban churches (about 7 percent).<sup>186</sup>

Most ecclesiastical patrons filled the vast majority of ecclesiastical positions according to canonical rules and without much disruption. Throughout the diocese of Florence there were only ten documented instances in which a change of patrons took place before 1330, or 7 percent of the total (see Appendix D). At Pisa, in contrast, the rate of turnover was three times the rate at Florence. In that city, Mauro Ronzani has calculated from a sample of

thirty-two churches that patronage rights in six (19 percent) changed hands before 1400. Clashes involving modestly endowed churches occurred on occasion in the diocese of Florence, as in 1326, when rival parties disputed patronage rights to Santa Maria di Campi in the Arno Valley west of the city.<sup>187</sup> In some cases a disagreement might end up in the episcopal court before the episcopal vicar, as occurred in 1319 when the cathedral chapter fought with a certain Presbyter Michèle over the office of archpriest at Signa. However, in the truly contentious cases, the losing parties usually appealed to the papal curia for final adjudication. Settlement was usually slow in coming. For example, final resolution for disputes over the patronage rights in the *pievi* of Impruneta and Campoli beginning in 1322 and 1295, respectively, came a decade after the suits were initiated.<sup>188</sup> All in all, most of the ecclesiastical patrons who exercised the *ius patronatus* in their institutions in 1250 were continuing to do so in 1330.

Institutional instability, as manifested in disputes over patronage rights, seems to have been an urban phenomenon, affecting primarily the largest and most powerful institutions. The higher up one moved in the institutional pyramid and the more lucrative and politically powerful the institution, the more the institution became subject to the forces of disruption and instability. One of the most important sources of instability in the institutional framework of the diocese was the system of papal provisions, which created serious and long-lasting conflicts in areas where the local population (or even the commune of Florence) sought to defend customary patronage rights. For the period between 1247 and 1327, we have twenty documented appointments by papal provision (see Appendix C). For the same period, there were nine documented controversies or conflicts resulting from papal provision, six of which were directly connected to the twenty provisions. Internal opposition to papally backed appointees led to numerous controversies within these institutions, such as the resentment directed at Bellondo di Compagno at San Lorenzo (1250) and at Stefano de Broy in the cathedral chapter (1291).

We find the same pattern at work in the countryside much later, beginning in the early fourteenth century. In most of these cases, those receiving the papal appointments were members of upwardly mobile Florentine lineages who wanted access to the honor and resources of these prestigious sinecures. The disruption of customary rights at Impruneta (1322–32) and at Cavriglia (1327, near Figline) created wide repercussions throughout the local area.<sup>189</sup> Even if the challenged candidates received significant local support, the final resolutions of these disputes generally resulted in an enhancement of papal power.

## The “Ecclesia Florentina” and Rome

Presiding over the Florentine church at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was of course the papacy, and between 1250 and 1330 Florentine



ecclesiastical institutions became increasingly aligned with its strategies and interests. From 1250 to 1330, the presence of the papacy in local Florentine ecclesiastical affairs became more intensified and more intrusive, in direct relation to the growing economic and political influence of Florentine merchants, churchmen, and bankers in central and northern Italy. Many Florentine banking houses and merchant companies were papal economic agents, and the pool of prosperous merchants and bankers was an attractive resource for papal patronage. At least since 1266 the papacy recognized that Florentine political and economic leaders were essential allies regarding its policies in Italy. Papal patronage of key ecclesiastical offices in the city became a means to strengthen the connections between papacy and commune. As a result, it is not surprising that sons, grandsons, and nephews of prominent banking families became papal favorites for ecclesiastical appointments.<sup>190</sup>

The papacy also exerted significant influence over Florentine affairs through its collection of the papal tenth and other special exactions, its assignment of judges delegate to hear local ecclesiastical cases, its dispatching of papal representatives to settle civil conflicts, and its adjudication of disputes in the papal court in Rome. Papal legates dispatched to any locality could overrule episcopal authority, if necessary. There were actually two types of papal legates: those sent with full authority from the curia for a specific purpose for a specific time frame (the *legati a latere*, who were usually cardinals), and those local churchmen appointed with limited powers to perform a task on behalf of the pope (the *legati nati*). There were at least four principal papal legates working in the city at one time or another during the eighty years covered by this study, and they were primarily sent there to resolve factional disputes in ways that favored Rome. The list of legates included major ecclesiastical leaders: Cardinal Malabranca Latino (1279), Matthew of Acquasparta (1297–98, 1300–1301), Cardinal Niccolò da Prato (1304), Cardinal Napoleone degli Orsini (1306), and Cardinal Deacon Giovanni degli Orsini (1326). The nephew of Pope Nicholas III, Napoleone degli Orsini (1263–1342) was a supporter of the Franciscan Spirituals and a protector of Ubertino da Cásale, who had served as his chaplain in 1305.<sup>191</sup>

As the last court of appeal in legal cases within the church, the papacy also wielded considerable power over the direction of local affairs through the work of its court in Rome. The principal papal court that heard cases was the *rota*, or *audientia sacri palatii*. It was the last court of appeal. In the *rota* the pope relied on “hearing officers,” or auditors, who effectively served as preliminary judges (the pope, however, was the final judge). The position of auditor, usually filled by a cardinal, had existed since the late twelfth century. To have your case heard in the *rota* was very expensive. A way to avoid incurring such expenses (increasingly popular from the late twelfth century) was to request that a judge delegate be appointed to hear the case and empowered to make a judgment. Proctors of the various parties were in

charge of presenting the case for their clients before the judges delegate. There were at least sixteen documented suits from Florence before the papal court or judges delegate between 1250 and 1330. They involved a variety of disputes, but they primarily concerned disagreements over ecclesiastical appointments, patronage, and property. The most important included the clash between Ruggero dei Frescobaldi and Jacopo degli Abbati over the office of prior of San Lorenzo (1265), the conflicting claims by San Lorenzo and the Chiarissimi over the house in the parish (1272–80), the patronage rights to the *pieve* of Campoli (1295–97), and the struggle over Impruneta between Bene di Nero and Federico dei Bardi (1322–32).<sup>192</sup> Recourse to the papal courts could of course provide an effective means to adjudicate disputes when all other options were exhausted, but it could also weaken the power of the bishop in his own diocese.

As Florence became more important to papal strategies, some of its wealthiest ecclesiastical institutions became spoils to be given to loyal papal allies. These institutions included the Badia, and the *pievi* of Signa, Campoli, and Impruneta. Appointments led to clashes with local interests. In 1327 the pope awarded the income of the Badia di Santa Maria (two thousand florins) to his legate in Tuscany, Cardinal Legate Napoleone degli Orsini. Four years later the legate interdicted the commune for interfering with the attempt by the curia to incorporate the *pieve* of Impruneta into its *collatio* (network of reserved ecclesiastical offices). The commune of Florence resisted both attempts on the part of the papacy to use rural *pievi* to reward political allies at the expense of local interests. According to Villani, the nineteen-month-old interdict over Impruneta ended only when the patrons of the *pieve*, the Buondelmonti, brokered a deal with the papal legate.<sup>193</sup>

Just as the regional church in England was part of an international organization,<sup>194</sup> so also became the Florentine church. Many upwardly mobile or well-established members of the Florentine elite—men like Andrea Mozzi or Federico dei Bardi—recognized that the acquisition of ecclesiastical offices through papal patronage was a pathway to professional advancement within the church. Similarly, members of the clergy, such as Ruggero dei Frescobaldi in the mid-thirteenth century, realized that recourse to the papal courts was a way to win their suits against local antagonists. Not all the cases that went before papal courts however resulted in a resolution that favored the party with the closest connections to the papal curia. Such was the situation with San Romolo di Quercio, also known as San Niccolò. Indeed, when the dispute over the rectorship of San Niccolò di Quercio (Cavriglia, diocese of Fiesole) erupted in 1327 and went before papal judges delegate, it resulted in a solution that benefited the local parties rather than the party with connections to the curia. Papal provisions in some of the most important and lucrative ecclesiastical positions within the dioceses in the cathedral chapter of Florence, the chapter of San Lorenzo, and wealthy *pievi* became increasingly common from the end of the thirteenth century. Florentines like

Andrea dei Mozzi moved up the ladder and out of the city to other bishoprics (Vicenza), while non-Florentines assumed key positions within the ecclesiastical establishment and became politically powerful and economically prosperous (Stefano de Broy). According to Salvino Salvini, between 1250 and 1331, eleven Florentine cathedral canons went on to become bishops of other communes.<sup>195</sup> All in all, individual and corporate interests on the local as well as the international level (the curia in Rome) contributed to the creation of an incrementally powerful papal presence in Florentine affairs. Not all clergy, however, were happy with the increased papal presence. For some clergy, papal intervention in local affairs only served to take major decisions out of the hands of local powerbrokers and into the control of outsiders who were insensitive to local interests.

We are therefore left with a complex institutional picture: as the direct presence of the papacy was becoming increasingly apparent in local Florentine ecclesiastical affairs, there were those who, for economic and political reasons, promoted it, while others tended at the same time to resist it. The victors were members of the former group. On the local level, after 1300, those who resisted papal intrusion tended to side with the Whites, and those who supported it tended to align themselves with the Blacks. One of those who objected to the role of the papacy in Florentine life was, of course, Dante Alighieri. Many others in the urban parishes and small villages of the *contado* sympathized with his distrust of the papacy and would have told him so themselves, had they managed to encounter him at the grain market at Orsanmichele or along the banks of the Arno. Yet, it was the gradually evolving cooperative relationship between the elite families of Florence and the papacy that helped transform the Florentine church after 1266 into one of the most influential and powerful in Europe. The collusion between high churchmen and the papacy facilitated the rise to continental prominence of the commune itself. However, at the same time, it placed growing financial burdens on the lower ranks of the clergy.

Following the establishment of the priorate in 1282, ecclesiastical communities provided a setting in which a composite but divided elite with international connections was able to coalesce and take shape in the early decades of the fourteenth century. This was the same stable yet divided ruling caste that was able from the late 1320s to govern the city for the generation before the arrival of the Black Death, “when Florence was at the height of its wealth, power, and prestige” and when it had embarked on an “expansionist policy” in Tuscany.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, ecclesiastical institutions helped forge a ruling caste that was undergoing significant changes in the two generations after 1250: new members were entering its ranks while older lineages were being challenged. These ecclesiastical communities provided high profile positions, income, connections to the papal curia, and influence in the larger world of continental politics. They helped develop and sustain a ruling caste after 1282 that was able to create, by the late 1320s, a consolidated regime that was to lead the city for at least a generation. What was occurring socially in Florence over those two generations was very similar to the social transformation that was simultaneously taking place in Venice: new structures of governance emerged through which a transformed elite would rule.<sup>2</sup> In Florence, the church was one of the principal arenas in which those social changes took place.

Several developments shaped the social development of the most prestigious institutions of the Florentine church: papal appointments of clients to top positions, the entry into elite institutions of members of upwardly mobile families who were benefiting from the economic expansion at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, and the recognition by those same aristocratic lineages that high church office continued to constitute a mark of elite status.<sup>3</sup> As the papal bureaucracy was becoming increasingly active in local Florentine ecclesiastical affairs in the second half of the thirteenth century, it tended to promote within the elite institutions of the city those loyal members of prosperous Florentine families who had tied their own fortunes to the papacy’s. Furthermore, as economic expansion was offering opportunities to the upwardly mobile while allowing the privileged to maintain their class position, members of the elite continued to see the acquisition of high church office as a source of legitimization and stature. As such, the acquisition of positions of authority in the church helped the

upwardly mobile to proclaim and validate their elite status, just as it helped some members of the older aristocracy to maintain their aristocratic position. For these reasons, the institutions of the church became an important environment in which members of the ruling elite sorted out their differences and consolidated their ranks during a period of economic expansion and political transformation. At the same time, they continued to fight one another over access to ecclesiastical offices and resources. Indeed, these two developments were linked. In the most important institutions of the church were represented a wide spectrum of social groups and families.

In the thirteenth century it was not uncommon to find cathedral chapters of various cities (including Milan) increasingly closed to anyone but the nobility.<sup>4</sup> This does not seem to have been the situation in Florence. Members of the aristocracy were certainly present in elite ecclesiastical institutions, but the highest offices of the Florentine church appear to have been open to the non-noble and noble as well. What made this possible were the extraordinary wealth and the rapid upward mobility of nonnoble Florentines after the middle of the thirteenth century. Throughout the period of this study, members of the knightly consular aristocracy (the magnates) as well as the upwardly mobile mercantile class (the *borghesia*, both magnate and nonmagnate) were able to obtain positions in the church in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Indeed, there seems to have been a two-generation lag time between the period when members of a lineage first appeared as principal political and economic players in the commune and when their kinsmen were able to assume prestigious positions within the secular clergy.

One good example of this phenomenon is the case of Federico dei Bardi, the son of the prior Bartolo dei Bardi and the grandson of the banker and knight Jacopo dei Bardi.<sup>5</sup> This interval reflected the time it took members of these elite lineages to develop close relations with the papacy, whose sponsorship was increasingly necessary for the acquisition of posts within the Florentine church. To appreciate fully the role that the church played in this development, it is necessary first to take a brief look at the social history of the ruling elite from 1250 to 1330. After ascertaining the total number of clergy in the city and countryside of the two dioceses of Florence and Fiesole, we shall examine in a comparative fashion the extent to which ecclesiastical institutions were able to accommodate the upwardly mobile and to shape the development of a composite, albeit divided, ruling class a generation before the Black Death.

## Florentine Society in the Age of Dante

In many ways the Florence of Dante resembled the New York of Edith Wharton.<sup>6</sup> Rapid rise in fortunes moved new families into the ranks of the elite. Edith Wharton's *The Age of Innocence* is an extended prosopographical essay of the elite world that flourished in New York City in the 1870s. In this

trenchant and sarcastic portrayal of the social world into which the she was born, Wharton outlines in intricate fashion the complex connections uniting the various families of the New York ruling elite: the Archers, the Mingotts, the Mansons, and the Wellands. Reigning supreme among the members of this elite group was a venerable couple from an aristocratic Dutch background, the van der Luydens. Wharton calls them the “arbiters of fashion, [and] the Court of Last Appeal.”<sup>7</sup> But within this rather restricted circle of families was a mysterious newcomer, Julius Beaufort, a man who married a cousin of the Mansons and whose home possessed one of the few ballrooms in the city. Some considered him a swindler. Who “was Beaufort?” the narrator asks: “He passed for an Englishman, was agreeable, handsome, ill-tempered, hospitable, and witty. He had come to America with letters of recommendation from old Mrs. Manson Mingott’s English son-in-law, the banker, and had speedily made himself an important position in the world of affairs.”<sup>8</sup> For Wharton, Beaufort was representative of those members of the ruling class whose assured position of prominence came from banking and industry, not from the traditions associated with the old Dutch aristocracy.

Like New York in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Florence at the end of the thirteenth century was rapidly becoming one of the richest and most populated cities of its time. And like New York after the Civil War, Florence after its own battles (Montaperti in 1260 and Campaldino in 1289) had its own Beauforts, upwardly mobile families made rich by banking and commerce: the Mozzi, the Acciaiuoli, the Strozzi, the Bardi, and the Frescobaldi. There were at least three social groupings within the elite at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>9</sup> First, there were the older elite families that had risen to power in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and dominated the consulate. These were the members of the knighted consular aristocracy. Among them were the Visdomini, Donati, Adimari, Uberti, Tornaquinci, Tosinghi, and Buondelmonti. Their noble status derived from a number of criteria, including the honor of knighthood, and they tended to have a close association with church offices and resources. The second group consisted of the upwardly mobile nonnoble (*popolani*, or members of the *popólo*) banking and mercantile families like the Mozzi, the Spini, and the Bardi, who rose to power in the thirteenth century on the wave of unprecedented prosperity. As they assumed elite status, they sought knighthood, adopting the traditional criteria for elite status. The third grouping was also popular (*popolano*) in origin, and they remained so. However, they did not adopt knighthood as a mark of status. Instead, they embraced and promoted a new criterion for elite status: membership in a guild. In the second half of the thirteenth century guild matriculation became the *sine qua non* of elite status, not only in Florence, but in many other communes throughout Italy. Among these newly successful lineages were the Strozzi, Medici, Magalotti, and Acciaiuoli.<sup>10</sup> For purposes of discussion, I will adopt these three classifications to explore the social history of the Florentine church.

Like late nineteenth-century New York, the ruling class at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century was strikingly open and porous to the upwardly mobile.<sup>11</sup> Rising lineages like the Strozzi and the Acciaiuoli emerged to dominate the principal political offices of the city after 1282, including the priorate,<sup>12</sup> but some of the other lineages traditionally associated with the older consular aristocracy—the Tosinghi, Visdomini, and the Adimari, for example—also continued to be represented. This was true even after the establishment of the priorate and the passage of the restrictive series of antimagnate laws.<sup>13</sup> Throughout the thirteenth century new blood was continually infused into the Florentine elite, undercutting the view that a distinct “old aristocracy” held sway before 1282, only to give way after 1282 to another class. It was more complicated than that. Those families who were members of the Ghibelline aristocracy (the Lamberti, Ubriachi, and Caponsacchi, for example) did indeed largely disappear from the ruling elite after 1280. However, many older members of the pre-1266 consular aristocracy (the Tosinghi, Adimari) did manage to hold on, even after the establishment of the priorate. They joined forces with the more recently arrived members of the elite to create a consolidated ruling class that presided over the city during its most prosperous decades before 1348.<sup>14</sup> What role, if any, did the institutions of the church play in this complex process of transformation? To answer that question, we must first look at the numbers of clergy in the two dioceses of Florence and Fiesole.

## Numbers and Social Composition

Ascertaining the population of religious communities in any medieval diocese is extremely problematic, and Florence is no exception. Nevertheless, it appears that between 2.5 and 3 percent of all Florentines were members of religious communities or considered themselves religious. The 3 percent figure represents an upper limit that includes the secular and regular clergy as well as the tertiaries of the mendicant orders, hospital administrators, lay workers in monasteries (*conversi*), members of the knightly military orders, religious men and women who were not living in established communities, and clergy in minor orders. In the city and countryside dominated by Florence around 1300 (the two dioceses of Florence and Fiesole), almost 2 percent of the population were members of the regular and secular clergy (about 6, 138 people, out of a total population of around 350,000). Of this total, approximately 3,030 were members of the secular clergy, 2,010 in the diocese of Florence and 1,020 lived in the diocese of Fiesole (slightly less than 1 percent of the total population in the two dioceses). In other words, there was about one priest for every 116 people in the city and countryside. About 3,108 regular clergy lived in the two dioceses, including 1,574 in the city of Florence and its suburbs and 1,534 in the rural areas of the two dioceses. When we add the number of regular clergy (3,108) to our estimated number



for the secular clergy (3,030), we come to a total of 6,138 secular and regular clergy in the two dioceses (not quite 2 percent of the total population of the two dioceses). The addition of nonsecular and nonregular clergy (tertiaries, the knightly orders, *conversi*, heads of hospitals, clergy in minor orders, and so on)—probably more than .5 but closer to 1 percent of the total population—brings us to an estimated upper limit figure of between 2.5 and 3 percent. Davidsohn had estimated that slightly less than 3 percent of those living in the city and immediate suburbs of Florence (about one in thirty) were members of the clergy. Our figure suggests a similar if slightly lower figure for the two dioceses as a whole.<sup>15</sup>

If we compare the Florentine figures for the secular clergy with the ratio in England, we find the numbers are similar. In 1377 the population of England was about 3.7 million. Historian R. N. Swanson estimated that England had a minimum of 24–25,000 secular priests in 1377, a number that comes from the 1377 poll tax.<sup>16</sup> The ratio of secular priests to the general population for England, almost eighty years after comparable figures are available for Florence, was one priest for every 148 people—slightly smaller than Florence's 1:116 ratio in 1300. Taking into consideration the fact that the 1377 poll tax figures date from a generation after the Black Death (1348) and that a disproportionate number of priests—probably more than one-third—died in the successive waves of pestilence, we can estimate that the secular clergy's percentage of the general population in England around 1300 would have been about the same as it was for Florence (slightly less than 1 percent). Now that we have generated a maximum figure for the number of those living in religious communities (2.5–3 percent), we must reconstruct their social background.

Before turning to Florence as a separate case study, it is worth looking at the social composition of elite ecclesiastical institutions in Europe as a whole and in Italy in particular. Unfortunately, there are only a few social histories of European regional churches with which we can make comparisons.<sup>17</sup> The social composition of the principal ecclesiastical institutions in northern Italy and Germany, according to Hägen Keller's investigation of cathedral chapters, tended to be exclusivist in nature. In Germany the chapters tended to be closed to the upwardly mobile and restricted to the nobility. At Augsburg and Münster, however, the lowest ranks of the nobility (*ministeriales*) were heavily represented. At Cologne and Strasbourg, in contrast, even the *ministeriales* were absent. Keller concludes that German cathedral chapters did not reflect the social diversity of German cities. For England we would also expect that the upper ranks of society were well represented in the cathedral chapters, but we have few sources with which to test that hypothesis. For the church as a whole in the later Middle Ages (1300–1500), R. N. Swanson has argued that the majority of clerics came from the “middling” families, neither predominately gentry nor predominately peasantry. Normally, these would have been the sons of wealthy peasants,

yeomen, and urban craftsmen.<sup>18</sup>

For Italian churches, we have little information. The limited picture we have presents us with a church in which the upper ranks of the clergy (like the cathedral chapter or major monasteries) were exclusive, often closed to the upwardly mobile. For example, in the thirteenth century the cathedral chapter of Milan tended to be limited to the nobility. Indications are that cathedral chapters in Italy as a whole were as intensely aristocratic and as closed to the upwardly mobile as in Germany. They excluded the *popolo* and all but the very rich. For example, most of the canons of Rieti were members of the patrician class.<sup>19</sup> At Padua the communities of the several monasteries that subscribed to the order of Saint Benedetto da Padua in the thirteenth century were composed of members of the wealthiest and richest families of the region. In the course of the early fourteenth century, members of the top ecclesiastical institutions of the commune (the cathedral chapter, bishopric) became increasingly tied through patronage to the dominant Carrara family. Specifically, the Carrara managed to pull the top offices of the church into its patronage network through the awarding of tithes (decimal fiefs) to their loyal supporters. The aristocracy in Pisa also controlled ecclesiastical patronage networks, which remained generally stable between 1200 and 1400.<sup>20</sup>

Increasingly, new research is indicating that outside the cathedral chapter and other elite institutions, the institutions in the lower ranks of the Italian church were more open to the upwardly mobile and prosperous men seeking careers in the clergy than previously thought. Regarding the secular clergy in Padua, for example, the majority in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seem to have come from the prosperous nonnobles of the city and its suburbs. Recruitment was local until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when papal associates and appointees began to assume positions of leadership. The monastery of Guamo near Lucca, like the social world of Lucca itself, was generally open to and inclusive of new men.<sup>21</sup> Lucca may have been exceptional in this regard, however, and the lack of the demographic pressures on church offices that we have encountered in Florence might have been a reason. In general, the elite ecclesiastical institutions for which we have information tended to exclude all but the traditional aristocracy.

As a rule, for many of the Italian churches outside Florence, upward mobility, social openness, and inclusion stopped at the doors of the wealthiest ecclesiastical institutions—the major collegiate churches, the bishopric, or the cathedral chapter. In Florence, however, this does not seem to have been the case, and it may have been one factor that distinguished the Florentine church from other communal churches. A broad segment of the diverse groups among the elite within the commune were represented in all the major institutions, including the friaries, the bishopric, and the cathedral. Facilitating this inclusiveness was the dramatic rise in prosperity within the city in the thirteenth century and the close economic and political connections between the papacy and several upwardly mobile families. This openness definitely

carried a price: family rivalries and factional conflicts often erupted within the most prestigious institutions, especially within the cathedral chapter. No one family controlled the commune in Florence as it did in Padua, at least until 1434. In the latter commune, the Carrara family worked to eliminate any faction or person who was not loyal to its rule. However, factional disputes within elite church institutions were common in a republic such as that of Florence. Its ecclesiastical institutions provided members of its divided elite with an important setting in which they could work through, sort out, and sometimes even settle their differences, many of which focused on rival claims to ecclesiastical offices and resources. To some contemporary observers, such as Dante Alighieri, these behaviors were not consistent with the Christian ideal of the *imitatio Christi*, but they did help forge a diverse and integrated elite that by the 1320s could rule Florence for a generation before the Black Death in a spirit of consensus and agreement.<sup>22</sup>

### Elite Strategies and Ecclesiastical Careers in Dante's Florence

Individuals representing all three major social groups within the elite managed to find careers within the ranks of the elite institutions of the Florentine church during the two generations covered by this study. This was a trend that facilitated stability at the top while containing and channeling disputes over ecclesiastical offices and resources within and into institutional structures equipped to resolve them. These institutions helped support the older lineages to maintain class position, and they were open to the upwardly mobile. One way to gauge the social composition of churches is to analyze ordinations. For the two generations between 1250 and 1330, unfortunately, the Florentine sources record few ordinations. The first documented one from Florence is dated 1303. For the diocese of Fiesole, however, there are better records, especially for the years 1310 and 1311.<sup>23</sup> Ordination lists for this period anywhere, however, are rare. In England, for example, they tend to be sporadic, even for the period after the Black Death.<sup>24</sup> Most of the ordained men entered the clerical profession by taking the first two minor orders or “first tonsure” (what Swanson has called “the receipt of clerical status”).<sup>25</sup> A good example is what happened in Florence in the cathedral on December 19, 1310. On that day, the bishop ordained Silvestro di Giannuccio dei Bardi, making him a member of the clergy (a *clericus*).<sup>26</sup> The Bardi were one of the upwardly mobile banking families of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century who became designated magnates. Also among the ruling elite mentioned as ordained in the documents were members of the Adimari, a Galigai, and a Rossi—all elite families from the consular aristocracy. Mixed in with them were people of indeterminate (but definitely nonelite) status—men like Alessandro di Borduccio or Bartolomeo di Lotto Bonaguida. In the diocese of Fiesole, some of the men taking the first tonsure and first two orders were members of the rural nobility (Ubalдини, for example), but most of

those ordained appear to have come from the diocese of Arezzo. Fiesole was a place where many Aretines found opportunities for clerical advancement.<sup>27</sup> If this very small sample is at all emblematic, it reveals that those entering the clerical profession in the early fourteenth century came from a variety of backgrounds: the old consular elite, the “new” mercantile lineages, and the nonelite.

Advancement within the church was also possible through the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage, which provides us with another source of information regarding the social makeup of ecclesiastical offices. It was quite common for families with patronage rights in certain churches to appoint members of their own lineages as rectors or priors. This seemed to be particularly common among the older lineages of the consular aristocracy, such as the Nerli, the Visdomini, and the da Caccioni.<sup>28</sup> For example, in 1265, the Nerli patrons appointed Gherardino di Ruggero dei Nerli as the new rector of San Pietro di Solicciano. San Michele Visdomini was an urban church established by the Visdomini, and it is not surprising to see that the Visdomini tended to favor their own. Caccia di Ventura di Leccio dei Visdomini became the rector on December 6, 1301, for example.<sup>29</sup> Several traditionally powerful Guelph lineages appear well represented in many ecclesiastical offices on the parochial level in the two dioceses. The bishopric and cathedral chapter tended to favor the local clergy to fill the positions in small parishes and members of elite lineages to fill the major offices within their jurisdiction (*collatio*). The bishop heavily favored the older and established lineages of the Visdomini *consorteria*, with whom it had close and historic relations (Visdomini, Aliotti, Tosinghi). In 1288, for example, Bishop Andrea Mozzi appointed Torrigiano di Uberto dei Visdomini as archpriest of Sant’Andrea di Doccia, and in 1297, Talano della Tosa assumed the mantle of archpriest of Santo Stefano di Campoli at the request of Bishop Francesco Monaldeschi.<sup>30</sup> The bishopric also relied on other members of this elite, such as the Cavalcanti, especially during the bishopric of Andrea Mozzi. Ildebrando di Banco dei Cavalcanti, a member of a family that had dominated the consulate from the second half of the twelfth century, received a prebend from the bishop in 1287 in one of the most important churches within the episcopal *collatio*, Santa Cecilia a Décimo. We have already seen how Bishop Andrea Mozzi appointed his nephew Aldobrandino dei Cavalcanti to the cathedral chapter in 1292 and then to the post of treasurer in 1293, provoking widespread disapproval within the chapter.<sup>31</sup> Along with the Cavalcanti, the Adimari and Tornaquinci—all well-established members of the consular aristocracy—also appear to have been well represented in parochial positions in the diocese of Fiesole. The Tornaquinci in particular appear to have dominated the *pieve* of Vado.<sup>32</sup>

The Visdomini and the Buondelmonti were certainly among the oldest of these elite lineages. However, some of these families did not constitute an old nobility at all. Contrary to popular opinion, the Adimari were not originally

the lords of the region around Gangalandi in the Arno Valley west of the city. Rather, they were merchants and bankers who rose to prominence during the early communal period in the second half of the twelfth century. They had purchased extensive landed properties near Florence.<sup>33</sup> In the second half of the thirteenth century several of their members—particularly Ildebrandino di Lottieri di Uberto degli Adimari (prior of San Lorenzo in the 1270s)—assumed principal positions within the Florentine church. Like the Adimari, the Abbati were also nonnobles who had entered the ruling elite at the end of the twelfth century and had assumed important positions of power as consuls and merchants. Three generations after Abbate had first served as consul in 1176, his great-grandsons Jacopo and Giovanni were important figures in the Florentine church.<sup>34</sup>

Most of the influential lineages in the consular aristocracy that dominated the political affairs of the city before 1282—the Buondelmonti, Cavalcanti, Adimari, Abbati, Visdomini, Giandonati, Tornaquinci, and Tosinghi, for example—appeared on the magnate lists of 1293 and 1295,<sup>35</sup> and they also filled some of the most important ecclesiastical offices in both city and countryside. A close association with ecclesiastical institutions helped keep these lineages in the ranks of the political elite well into the fourteenth century. For example, the Adimari, Abbati, and the Tosinghi continued to be represented in the cathedral chapter, the chapter of San Lorenzo, the priorate, and even the bishopric into the fourteenth century. They also appeared frequently in ecclesiastical offices in the diocese of Fiesole.<sup>36</sup>

When we turn to the knighted *nouveaux riches* mercantile families from the *popolo*, many of whom were also designated magnates in 1293 and 1295, we find that they also moved into positions of prominence within the church, aided by strong connections to the papacy. As the papal curia sought to extend its control over local church appointments by promoting several men from these families to major clerical positions, members of these prominent banking families in turn used their connections to the papacy to move into the higher ranks of the clerical establishment. The most important “newer” lineages represented within the principal institutions of the church included the Frescobaldi and the Mozzi. Like the Adimari and the Abbati, these two lineages were closely associated with banking. The grandsons of Berto dei Frescobaldi, a banker and Guelf knight, for example, became important churchmen. The most important, Guglielmo di Bettino di Berto dei Frescobaldi, became archpriest of a prominent rural *pieve*, cathedral chapter canon, and eventually treasurer of the chapter. Ruggero dei Frescobaldi, son of the banker Lamberto (who died 1252), became prior of San Lorenzo around 1265.<sup>37</sup> Antonio degli Orsi, who became bishop in 1302, was a banker and kinsman of the Frescobaldi, Velluti, and Capponi.<sup>38</sup> The Mozzi, a lineage with very strong banking ties to the papacy, produced a bishop, Andrea Mozzi, who served as prelate from 1286 to 1295. They were also represented from the late thirteenth century in the two major mendicant

friaries of the city, and many of them began to assume other important offices in the secular clergy after 1310. Andrea Mozzi's father, Spigliato, had been a banker to the papacy, as was his brother Tommaso. The promotion of members of the Mozzi, the Frescobaldi, and even the Adimari into influential positions within the church went hand in hand with their entry into the ruling aristocracy. However, as members of lineages with which the papacy had strong economic ties, they also served the financial and political interests of the papal curia.<sup>39</sup>

After 1300, these upwardly mobile and newly enriched banking and mercantile lineages such as the Frescobaldi and Bardi began to make their appearance in ecclesiastical offices in the dioceses of Fiesole and Florence. The acquisition of a position in the diocese of Fiesole was often a pathway to high church office in Florence. Giovanni dei Frescobaldi became canon of San Martino in Vado in 1327, a *pieve* where the Tornaquinci were particularly well represented. The few others that appear in the sources were not clients of the bishopric or elite consular families. Rather, their careers appear to have been promoted by the cathedral chapter and the papacy itself. The cathedral chapter of Florence, which had patronage rights to the church of San Giovanni di Signa along the Arno, appointed Bernardino di Tegghia dei Frescobaldi archpriest in 1313. In the most celebrated case, by way of papal provision, Federico dei Bardi laid claim to the archpriestship of Impruneta in 1322.<sup>40</sup>

When we turn to the third group among the Florentine elite at the end of the century (*popolani* who assumed guild membership instead of knighthood as the criterion for elite status), we see that members of these lineages were also assuming important clerical positions in the early fourteenth century. We can find a few of them in the Dominican friary Santa Maria Novella at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. At the same time, their kinsmen were moving into the ranks of the political elite. In the 1330s the Peruzzi, Guadagni, and Acciaiuoli were among the chief families in the commune. Indeed, the Strozzi, Altoviti, Albizzi, Medici, and Acciaiuoli came to dominate the principal political offices of the city after the establishment of the priorate in 1282.<sup>41</sup> Around 1340, two generations after they first begin to dominate the Signoria, members of three of these *popolano* families—the Acciaiuoli, Altoviti, and Peruzzi—assumed major positions within the cathedral chapter, and Agnolo Acciaiuoli became bishop in 1342. Acquisition of ecclesiastical patronage rights was important to these upwardly mobile lineages, such as the Strozzi (who assumed rights at San Miniato fra le Torri) and the Medici (who took over many of the ecclesiastical rights held by the Ubaldini and the Sizi). Appointments to important clerical positions therefore sustained the fortunes of an older elite while at the same time they helped the upwardly mobile lineages to acquire and maintain elite status. Not every older lineage, however, was successful. For example, the Sizi and Ubaldini declined in political and economic importance in the course of the fourteenth century. The Buondelmonti, one of the oldest and most established

magnate families, survived largely because of their heavy reliance on their ecclesiastical offices and properties.<sup>42</sup>

All three major groupings within the Florentine ruling class were represented in the priorate as well as in the elite institutions of the Florentine church. This is clear when we compare the patronymics that appear in elite ecclesiastical positions with two lists: the roster of lineages designated “magnate” at the end of the thirteenth century and the slate of men who served as priors from 1282 to 1330.<sup>43</sup> To understand the processes by which different men from diverse social backgrounds were able to assume positions of leadership within the church, it may be helpful to examine four case studies. Like ordination lists, some of the examples of ecclesiastical appointments (facilitated by the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage rights) suggest that members of the older consular elite as well as the newly arrived (both magnate and nonmagnate) were represented in church positions. Our four case studies include four men from diverse backgrounds: an upwardly mobile and ambitious nonnobleman from the countryside, a respected archpriest from outside Florence who was a client of the Buondelmonti, a member of a magnate lineage that was often in conflict with the Buondelmonti, and a French protégé of the Avignon popes who made a successful career for himself in the city of Florence.

#### Four Case Studies in Upward Mobility

The careers of Bellondo di Compagno, Bene di Nero, Federico dei Bardi, and Stefano de Broy allow us to follow four men from a variety of social backgrounds in the course of their careers in the Florentine church. They illustrate the inclusiveness of Florentine ecclesiastical institutions, and their careers demonstrate how through conflicts and arbitrated compromises newcomers became integrated into the institutional structures of the church. Bellondo di Compagno was a Florentine aristocrat who received a prebend in San Lorenzo with papal support in 1250. Bene di Nero was a nonnoble whose patrons were members of the Buondelmonti magnate lineage. Federico dei Bardi was a member of an urban banking and mercantile family of great renown, who enjoyed a close association with the papal curia. And Stefano de Broy, also a papal protégé, was a non-Florentine (a Frenchman) whose trajectory to power and wealth had nothing to do with membership or association with a local elite lineage (at least at first) but had everything to do with the close relations to the French monarchy and the Angevins. All four were successful in moving up the professional ladder within the Florentine church. However, the opposition that many of them encountered to their appointments in the chapters of San Lorenzo (1250–60), the cathedral chapter (1291), the chapter of the *pieve* of Campoli (1295), and the chapter of Impruneta (1322) demonstrate that local opponents were able to delay but not prevent their assumption of church offices. As more papal clients made their



way into the ranks of the Florentine church, they helped transform a localized church of a second-rank Tuscan city into one of the most powerful ecclesiastical bureaucracies in Europe, with firm and strong ties to the papal curia.

A papal promotion to the chapter of San Lorenzo in the mid-thirteenth century set in motion one of the most lurid episodes in the history of that institution. In 1250, at the behest of Pietro, cardinal deacon of San Giorgio al Velabro (a papal representative), the chapter of San Lorenzo accepted into its fold Bellondo di Compagno, a canon of Fiesole.<sup>44</sup> For Bellondo and others (like Stefano de Broy several decades later), early membership in the cathedral chapter of Fiesole and connections to the papal curia were the essential paths to high church appointment in Florence. Bellondo's entry into the chapter apparently elicited immediate opposition from those already there, perhaps because it was an appointment that added one more prebend to the traditional number. Unless the endowment of the chapter was increasing, the addition of another prebend could diminish the income of the canons already there.<sup>45</sup> Three years later, the prior of the chapter, Fede, affirmed Bellondo's right to this position. The delay, as William Bowsky has suggested, indicates ongoing resistance to the acceptance of Bellondo into the chapter.<sup>46</sup> Challenges to the legitimacy of Bellondo's position continued in 1255, apparently promoted by a rival from the Mugello.<sup>47</sup> In 1258 Ranieri d'Aliotto da Padule called the validity of Bellondo's appointment into question. Bellondo was so rattled that he sought protection from none other than the pope.<sup>48</sup> Tensions escalated until in 1258 Bellondo allegedly assaulted Ranieri, and two years later (on the same feast day) Ranieri attacked Bellondo in an apparent act of retaliation.<sup>49</sup>

According to the witnesses who appeared in 1260 before the court of the episcopal vicar in the piazza of the bishopric (*in platea Episcopatus*), Ranieri di Aliotto da Padule had viciously assaulted his colleague Bellondo with a sword at the entrance to the dormitory of the chapter canons on the feast day of Saint Martin in 1260 (November 11). He left him with several bloody wounds, including one on the shoulder (*in scapula*). Among the witnesses appearing for Bellondo was Midea, the alleged transvestite servant of Bernardo da Castro San Miniato, who swore she saw Ranieri with a drawn sword ("iuratus suo iure quod vidit Raynerium de Padule cum blado evaginato").<sup>50</sup> Presbyter Chianni, also a partisan of Bellondo's, said that after Ranieri returned from a celebration of the feast of Saint Martin at San Martino di Sesto (west of the city, in the Arno plain), he waited to assault his colleague near the cloister after vespers. Following both Chianni and Bellondo into the living quarters of the canons at the entrance to the dormitory, Ranieri unsheathed a two-bladed sword and struck Bellondo, giving him three wounds.<sup>51</sup> Witnesses who testified on behalf of the alleged perpetrator attacked Midea's credibility by claiming she was a well-known prostitute who went about the area north of the cathedral "dressed like a man" (*induta sicut*

*homo*). Witnesses testified they saw Midea frequently in this burgeoning neighborhood near San Lorenzo in the Cafaggio. It was indeed an area that prostitutes apparently frequented, servicing the men from the countryside who had immigrated to the city in search of work. Witnesses for Ranieri lodged a counterclaim: on a past feast day of Saint Martin, Bellondo and Chianni had themselves viciously assaulted Ranieri with their fists (“cum manibus et pugnīs”) in 1258, causing his face to bleed profusely below his eye.<sup>52</sup>

This messy, tawdry, and violent set of episodes is worth mentioning not because it was typical of urban church affairs, nor because it was an important event in the history of the church (it was neither). Rather, it is noteworthy because it reveals how seriously divided elite ecclesiastical institutions could become when local churchmen felt their interests were threatened, and it suggests how disruptive papal patronage could be in the ecclesiastical appointment process. This type of pattern—the upstart, papally promoted candidate pitted against the interests of the established officeholders—repeated itself throughout the period of this study in a variety of ecclesiastical settings. Structurally, it was a fault line that continually led to division within the church, but it also reveals an important fact about ecclesiastical history in Florence and other Italian cities: papal policies regarding church appointments encouraged the circulation in and out of high church offices of a wide array of people from a variety of social backgrounds and families, connecting them to the larger world, but they also caused significant conflict and division within local religious institutions. A combination of several factors—the pressures exerted on a limited amount of resources (a fixed number of prebends) by the upwardly mobile and the already established and the gradual integration of the Florentine church into the system of papal provision—may help account for why prominent conflicts arose within the most prestigious and wealthiest urban ecclesiastical offices—the bishopric, San Lorenzo, and the cathedral chapter. Papal involvement is also evident in our next three examples.

No two careers seem more different than those of Bene di Nero and Federico dei Bardi. Federico was one of the most successful churchmen of his day, having advanced through the church by way of his membership in a prominent magnate family and his connections to the papacy. The son of the banker Bartolo dei Bardi, Federico had distinguished himself by 1322 as a canonist who had prebends in the cathedral chapters of Arezzo, Florence, Lancaster, York, and Aix-en-Provence. The Bardi, like the Frescobaldi, had entered the Florentine elite through their acquisition of wealth in banking and commerce, connections to Charles of Anjou, and ties to the papacy. For Federico dei Bardi, and for others, promotion within the Florentine and international ecclesiastical establishment depended on the securing of prebends in both the cathedral chapter and in a wealthy rural *pieve*. At the time he issued his challenge to Bene di Nero for the archpriestship of Impruneta, Federico was prior of Santa Maria Sopra Porta. As cathedral canon he had already been a candidate for bishop once. Promotions for Federico

came primarily by way of his and his family's close association with the papal curia; not, as was the case with Bene, through his upward rise from the rank of a parish presbyter. Federico had entered the cathedral chapter in 1300 and became prior of Santa Maria Sopra Porta by papal provision in 1302, having received an expectative from Pope Boniface VIII for the next benefice in the diocese of Florence on February 1, 1301.<sup>53</sup> As a member of a family that had risen to economic and political prominence in the first half of the thirteenth century, Federico dei Bardi brought to his career the full patronage and support of the papal curia. By 1319 he had received another expectative of an important prebend, and three years later claimed the office of archpriest of Impruneta.<sup>54</sup> A holder of multiple prebends, he found Impruneta attractive for many reasons. It was one of the richest ecclesiastical institutions in the diocese. Furthermore, it exercised patronage rights in the urban church of Santa Maria sopr'Arno, a parish in which many Bardi had made their home.<sup>55</sup>

A nonnoble from the Florentine suburbs, Bene di Nero had made his way up through the ranks of ecclesiastical hierarchy by his own ability and by the trust given him by the Buondelmonti, the patrons of the *pieve* of Impruneta. Following the death of the canon Maffeo, Presbyter Bene di Nero, originally from the area around Bagno a Ripoli outside Florence, became canon of the collegiate church of Santa Maria Impruneta on January 17, 1317. The patronage rights of this all-important collegiate church were in the hands of the Scolari and Buondelmonti families. When he received that appointment, Bene di Nero was serving as rector of San Lorenzo di Castrobonizzi in the nearby *piviere* of Santa Cecilia a Décimo. Like so many of his rural clerical contemporaries, he came from a community located near the site of his initial appointment.<sup>56</sup> In 1322, following the death of the archpriest Rainerio, Bene became archpriest with the full support of the Buondelmonti. His rise to this office appears to have been the product of his own merit, the support of the local community and the chapter of Impruneta, and the blessing of the Buondelmonti, the local nobility.

As canon and archpriest, he served the community well in a variety of capacities, as an executor of wills and a mediator in local disputes, among others. Perhaps it was because of his importance to the local community that the chapter of Impruneta resolved to resist the attempts of Federico dei Bardi to lay hold of the office of archpriest.<sup>57</sup> Bene had been fiercely loyal and generous to those whose souls were entrusted to him. Perhaps that is why in 1327 he was still fighting for the position when he and four canons filed another appeal. They received a negative judgment. In 1330 again he appealed before the papacy, even though he, his chapter, and the Buondelmonti had been interdicted and excommunicated. He was indefatigable, and his continued affection for this *pieve* and its patrons is evident from his will, drawn up in 1329, seven years after the conflict with Federico dei Bardi began. He left legacies to the poor of the parish of the *pieve* (ten lire) and to the church of San Lorenzo di Castrobonizzi (ten lire), for which he apparently

still retained an attachment, and to several local hospitals (ten soldi). He had a modest patrimony, consisting primarily of the portion of a house he co-owned with his brother in the parish of Santo Stefano di Paterno.<sup>58</sup> Bene seems to have been one of those parish priests of moderate ambition who took his pastoral duties seriously and was recognized by the local elite as a talented administrator.

Unlike Federico and Bene, Stefano de Broy was an outsider. Like Bene, he was a nonnoble who relied on Buondelmonti patronage, and like Federico, his career depended on papal sponsorship. The eventful career of Stefano de Broy underscores the importance of having multiple benefices for a successful ecclesiastical career. Like so many other high churchmen, he made his way into the Florentine church by way of Fiesole. He was the quintessential example of how an outsider, a Frenchman, could parlay his close association with the papacy via his Angevin connections into a rapid climb up the clerical hierarchy, amassing wealth and property in the process.<sup>59</sup> A native of the kingdom of France from Lyon, he apparently demonstrated very early his talent at administration. He had been a canon at Prato and served as a close associate of Alcampo Abbadinghi, the collector of the papal tenth in 1274–75; *preposto* of the cathedral chapter of that city, and canon of the Florentine chapter.<sup>60</sup> After serving as a collector of the papal tenth and cathedral canon, Stefano began to acquire numerous ecclesiastical offices: chaplain (*cappellanus*) to the bishop of Tusculum and Cardinal Legate Niccolò da Prato, a benefice in the cathedral chapter of Florence (from 1291), an archpriestship in a rural *pieve* (Campoli, 1294 or before), successive appointments as vicar of the bishops of Fiesole (until 1301) and Florence, chaplain (*cappellanus*) to Pope John XXII, and papal ambassador.<sup>61</sup>

In all aspects of his career, he appears to have been “the pope’s man” in Florence, exactly the kind of person a Dante Alighieri or a Remigio dei Girolami distrusted—wealthy, pro-papal, materialistic, non-Florentine, and sly. As a papal client and appointee, he limited and shaped the power of the Florentine bishops to serve the interests of the papacy. He also seems to have been close to a powerful member of the Buondelmonti clan, Ruggero dei Buondelmonti, who, as we have seen ([Chapter 1](#)), served as prior general of the Vallombrosan order at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century before being forced to resign in ignominy.<sup>62</sup> The patronage of Ruggero dei Buondelmonti had apparently been a key connection that helped him move through the ecclesiastical ranks in Florence early in his career. Indeed, it was through Ruggero dei Buondelmonti, whose family holdings at Impruneta were close to Campoli, that Stefano became a procurator of the *pieve* of Campoli in 1289 in the first place. In that year, a certain Stefano, identified as a canon of Pistoia, served as a procurator of the collegiate chapter of Campoli in Rome in an unspecified legal case involving the bishop of Florence, Andrea Mozzi, and the collegiate chapter of Campoli.<sup>63</sup> The chapter of the *pieve* of Campoli and the bishop were in deep

conflict. Circumstantial evidence indicates that the chapter had wanted to limit or end the economic domination of the *plebatus* by the bishopric. After all, this region was an area in which the bishopric had been building up extensive holdings since the early twelfth century. The end of the thirteenth century was a period when the pace of property consolidation had been very intense (see [Chapter 3](#)). Members of the Visdomini family, which administered the temporalities of the vacant bishopric between 1274 and 1286, were also acquiring property in the area around Fabbbrica in 1266, 1275, and 1277. In 1291, it appears that the episcopally appointed archpriest Alessandro da Pogna sold some property in the endowment of the parish of Campoli to a member of the family of the bishop Andrea Mozzi. Riccardo dei Mozzi also purchased two-thirds of a *podere* for two hundred lire.<sup>64</sup> Transaction like these, often at the expense of the local community, apparently created an antiepiscopal faction within the chapter at Campoli.

Simultaneously, in the late summer of 1291, in the midst of these conflicts between Campoli and the bishop, Stefano was fighting for a prebend in the cathedral chapter awarded him by way of papal provision. His appointment sparked an internal conflict within the chapter, most likely between a pro-episcopal and an antiepiscopal faction. In 1292 he was a full member (canon) of the cathedral chapter, serving as a procurator of the body in its conflicts with Bishop Andrea Mozzi. Sometime after 1291 but before the end of 1294, following the death of the archpriest of Campoli, Tegliario, Stefano received another appointment. The chapter of Campoli had commissioned the abbot of the Camaldolese monastery of Montescalari to select the next archpriest, and he turned to Stefano. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Stefano served as an advocate for the antiepiscopal faction within the Campoli chapter. Shortly after the appointment, not surprisingly, the bishop of Florence, Andrea Mozzi, appointed his own archpriest of Campoli, Alessandro da Strata. The dispute went to the papal *rota* of Nicholas IV (1288–92) for adjudication, and on September 23, 1295, the papal auditor decided in favor of Stefano. Apparently, however, the new bishop of Florence, Francesco Monaldeschi (1295–1301), who assumed the prelacy in December of 1295, continued to use legal maneuvers to avoid losing his patronage rights at Campoli. Two years later, on April 30, 1297, Bishop Francesco Monaldeschi replaced Alessandro da Strata with a new archpriest from the Visdomini *consorteria*, the lineage that had enjoyed long-standing ties to the bishopric and that had also been acquiring property in the area in the recent past. He was Talano della Tosa. The first phase of the conflict between the bishop and Stefano de Broy—and all the parties behind them—lasted until 1299, when the parties reached a compromise. Stefano was able to keep his Campoli position, but the chapter of Campoli agreed to recognize the bishop as the patron of the *pieve*. The former episcopal client, Talano della Tosa, resigned the post in Campoli on August 22, supposedly because he was already too preoccupied with the *pieve* of Sesto (where he was also archpriest). Two days later the bishop

conferred the office on Stefano, though the prelate expressed his rage at him in writing by condemning his past efforts to claim the office. Indeed, in the document of compromise witnessed by Stefano's patron Ruggero dei Buondelmonti, Bishop Francesco Monaldeschi lambasted Stefano for having been "contumacious and rebellious" (*contumax et rebellis*).<sup>65</sup> Stefano was not a man to give up easily when he thought a battle was worth fighting, and the struggle he waged against two bishops seems to have had the acquiescence, if not the outright support, of the papacy.

Relations between Stefano and his colleagues in the cathedral chapter worsened in 1304. In that year the syndic of the chapter, Ser Cione Uberti, pleaded before a commission of three Camaldolese monks that Stefano be brought to justice for allegedly stealing ten *moggia* of grain from a room in the cloister of the cathedral (the outcome of this petition is unknown). Was this simply an attempt by episcopal allies in the chapter to harass Stefano? Possibly, but it is more likely that the cathedral chapter was holding Stefano, in his capacity as vicar of the bishop of Fiesole (Antonio degli Orsi), accountable for grain rents that the Florentine chapter claimed were rightly its own and which it claimed the bishopric of Fiesole had been unlawfully withholding.<sup>66</sup> Even though the conflict over Campoli flared up again during the tenure of Bishop Lottieri della Tosa (1302–9), a final solution was found in 1307, and the terms resembled the original deal of 1299. This compromise of 1307 protected the patronage rights of the bishopric to Campoli, but it also allowed Stefano de Broy to remain archpriest. Apparently, Stefano continued to serve as archpriest of Campoli for his entire career, as we learn that in 1327 (a few years before his death) he was still making appointments to the collegiate church.<sup>67</sup> Three days after the notarization of the 1307 agreement, we find Stefano serving as procurator for his principal patron, the prior general of the Vallombrosan order and abbot of Passignano, Ruggero dei Buondelmonti.<sup>68</sup>

By the time of his death in 1330, Stefano de Broy had served in some of the highest ecclesiastical offices available to any man (aside from a bishopric), including the post of papal judge delegate and *cappellano*, episcopal vicar in both the dioceses of Fiesole and Florence, archpriest in a very wealthy rural *pieve*, and cathedral canon. As episcopal vicar, he had ordered the *pieve* of Impruneta to clarify its parochial boundaries in 1309. He was involved in important land transactions in the parish of San Lorenzo in 1322. In 1327 he was the principal adjudicator in the dispute between the abbey of Passignano and the Florentine Gottifredo della Tosa over the rectorship of San Romolo or (San Niccolò) di Quercio (Cavriglia). When Stefano died, he left a substantial legacy to the hospitals of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena and its Florentine sister, also called Santa Maria della Scala (a major orphanage), as well as a significant estate of four hundred florins to four relatives. He had amassed in the forty years of residence in the city a substantial amount of property and houses in the central parishes, particularly in the parish of San Lorenzo. Much

if not all that property went to the Benedictine convent of Santa Trinita (which was built on land sold by Stefano) and to the two institutions mentioned above. He had also been a principal beneficiary in the sale of property by San Lorenzo that was supposed to subsidize the construction of the church of San Barnaba.<sup>69</sup> Property-owner, Black Guelf partisan and political strategist, papal confidante and deputy, procurator and judge, leader within the cathedral chapter—Stefano had a successful but divisive career during the period of the Avignon papacy, when his adopted city rose to a position of prominence within Europe. The fortunes of the cathedral chapter between 1300 and 1330 were closely bound up with the life of this man from France. Stefano, Federico dei Bardi, Bene di Nero, and Bellondo di Compagno all came from diverse backgrounds, and all found their way—though not without conflict—into the highest reaches of the Florentine church.

### Cathedral Canons and Bishops

Appointment to the cathedral chapter had been a principal goal for foreign and ambitious papal clients like Stefano de Broy, but the chapter also included between 1250 and 1330 representatives of families from all the elite social groups in the city—the consular (noble) aristocracy, the prosperous banking families, and the mercantile *popolano* elite (both magnate and nonmagnate). Many of these prelates and canons pursued policies that promoted the mastery of Florence within Tuscany and the centrality of the Florentine church to the political strategies of the papacy. Not only did many of the bishops during this period act to recover alienated properties to reconstitute and consolidate their holdings, but they were also engaged in the most ambitious building project in the history of the commune: the new cathedral, the principal symbol of God's benevolence toward Florence.

The chapter was not simply the exclusive reserve of the older aristocratic families. Among those serving in the cathedral chapter during the seventy years covered by this study were members of the consular aristocracy: the Buondelmonti, Visdomini, and the Tosinghi. Present also were members of the Adimari and Abbati lineages, families that had risen to prominence in the communal period during the second half of the twelfth century. Among them were Ildebrandino degli Adimari, the prior of San Lorenzo during the 1270s, and Giovanni degli Abbati (canon from 1263, d. 1291). However, in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the chapter became more and more dominated by members of the upwardly mobile banking families, all of whom were well connected to the papacy. Among them were the Bardi, Mozzi, and Frescobaldi. For some of these canons, membership in the cathedral chapter was simply a stepping-stone to the bishopric. Such was the case for both Andrea di Spigliato dei Mozzi (1286) and Lottieri della Tosa (1302). For the Mozzi, one of the younger banking lineages with close ties to the papacy, the chapter became a source of several important sinecures.



Andrea's kinsman Ruggero, already an archpriest of the important collegiate church of Empoli, served in the chapter at the end of the thirteenth century. Lottieri della Tosa became archdeacon of the chapter in 1286. A third grouping of canons was associated with neither of the two groups. These men, most notably represented by the upwardly mobile Stefano de Broy, were self-made clerics who used their close associations with the papacy to acquire lucrative ecclesiastical offices at the end of the thirteenth century. As we have seen, their entry into this institution did not come without resistance from many of those who were already there.<sup>70</sup>

Between 1250 and 1330 the papacy became more and more involved in episcopal elections, promoting, among the seven bishops, four non-Florentines and three natives to the see of Saint Zenobius. That the bishopric of Florence was the most important ecclesiastical office in the pivotally important Guelf commune of Florence and that Florentines were papal bankers played no small role in the calculations of the papal bureaucracy. Frequent squabbles between factions within the cathedral chapter—focused around individuals from elite lineages—necessitated direct papal intervention in virtually every election, particularly in 1286, 1295, and 1323. Precisely at the time when the Guelf Party was consolidating its power in Florence (between 1267 and 1293), the papacy turned to mendicants from Perugia to serve as bishops of Florence and Fiesole: Jacopo da Perugia for Florence (1286) and Filippo da Perugia for Fiesole (1282–98).<sup>71</sup> Since the pontificate of Innocent IV (1243–54), conflict with the emperor and his Ghibelline allies as well as the policy to control the most important benefices of major cities led the papacy to be more aggressive in asserting its will when it came to the choice of local bishops.<sup>72</sup>

The first set of conflicts at Florence that necessitated explicit papal intervention involved two of the aristocratic nonbanking consular lineages with long-standing ties to the bishopric, the Ubaldini (supported by the Adimari) and the Tosinghi. Members of the Ubaldini lineage, whose properties and lands straddled the mountains between Florence and Bologna, had ambitions for high ecclesiastical office in Florence as well as Bologna. However, their ambitions faced two setbacks after Schiatta degli Ubaldini failed to obtain the see of Zenobius in 1286 and after the Florentine government declared them magnates in 1295.<sup>73</sup> By 1321 aristocratic lineages like the Ubaldini, the Adimari, and the Tosinghi were no longer major players, and the nature of the clashes now involved factions coalescing around the upwardly mobile mercantile and banking lineages like the Frescobaldi and the Bardi. This trend reflected the broader changes in the identity of the Florentine elite described above. By 1323 papal intervention in the election of Florentine prelates was no longer sporadic and indirect; henceforth, it was direct and intrusive. No longer were episcopal elections local affairs.

Giovanni dei Mangiadori, a native of Pistoia, became bishop of Florence in 1251 at the behest of Innocent IV. He served until 1274. A kinsman of

Cardinal Ottaviano dei Ubaldini, he had previously served as archdeacon in the diocese of Lucca. Several scholars have noted that his promotion to the office derived from the fact that he had been well connected to Ottaviano degli Ubaldini. It was during his tenure that major purchases of property in the Cafaggio began, with the aim of building rentable shops in the neighborhood of the cathedral. The bishop also faced formidable challenges, among which were the taxation (*libra*) of ecclesiastical institutions during the Primo Popolo, the imposition of papal subsidies on churches, the conflict with the commune over issues relating to ecclesiastical liberty, and the return of the Ghibellines after the battle of Montaperti (1260).<sup>74</sup> He passed away at the end of December 1274, necessitating a new election.

For twelve years the bishopric was vacant as divergent factions linked to the Adimari and the Tosinghi lineages within the cathedral chapter vied for the office. During that period the Visdomini *consorteria* administered the temporalities of the bishopric. In particular two candidates competed for the see of Saint Zenobius: Lottieri dei Tosinghi and Schiatta degli Ubaldini, then canon of Liège and Bologna. In late May, seeking to end the widening factional splits within the chapter, Pope Honorius IV appointed as bishop the Dominican Jacopo Rainucci. Schiatta degli Ubaldini went on to serve as bishop of Bologna, and Lottieri dei Tosinghi became bishop of Faenza in 1287 before eventually assuming the mantle of Saint Zenobius as bishop of Florence in 1302. The new Florentine prelate in 1286, a noted preacher, had previously served as prior of Santa Sabina and was the superior of the Dominicans in Perugia. His episcopacy lasted only about forty days. Nevertheless, his tenure is notable for a few reasons.

His appointment was supposed to heal the rifts within the cathedral chapter, and he devoted a considerable amount of his short tenure to the recovery of episcopal assets held by Visdomini administrators. His ceremonial entry into the city (1286) from the southern gate of San Pier Gattolini (the present-day Porta Romana) to the cathedral-Baptistery complex (see Map 2), the first documented mention of such a procession, underscored the importance of his connection to the papacy. Entering the city through the gate that opened to the road to Rome, he processed in such a way that he reenacted a miracle associated with Saint Zenobius on the present Borgo degli Albizzi and stopped at the convent of San Pier Maggiore for a ceremonial marriage with the abbess, representing symbolically his union with the diocese. He was one of the first prelates of Florence to offer his full support, through the issuance of indulgences, for the rebuilding of Santa Maria Novella for the friars.<sup>75</sup>

The next bishop was a member of the Mozzi lineage, Andrea Mozzi, whose election Honorius IV confirmed in late December of 1286. He managed to garner a majority of votes within the cathedral chapter, defeating another candidate, Bishop Tommaso of Pistoia. A canon lawyer by training (and therefore a *magister*) and a member of the prominent Mozzi banking

family (and brother of Tommaso dei Mozzi), he had received a benefice in the cathedral chapter of Cambrai before acquiring the prelacy of Florence. He served as bishop until September 1295, when Pope Boniface VIII had him transferred to Vicenza. By trying to make his nephew treasurer of the cathedral chapter, channel the income of the hospital of Santa Reparata into his hands, and impose a fee on the clergy to cover the consecration costs of new bishops (among other things), he had managed to splinter the cathedral chapter into distinct factions. His refusal (or inability) to repay a papally approved two-thousand-florin loan to his own family's bank, contracted to pay for his consecration costs, earned him an excommunication in 1291 by the Vallombrosan abbots of Ripoli and Santa Trinita. Dante did not place this bishop, however, who appeared in the *Inferno*, in the circle of the barrators or grafters (Circle 8, *Bolgia* 5), where we would expect him to be. Rather, he was in the circle of the sodomites (Circle 7, Round 3).

It has been all too easy for modern historians to follow the lead of the poet and condemn the prelate—not so much for his private life as for his alleged nepotism. According to Davidsohn, from the moment he became bishop he caused scandal. However, modern scholars can lose sight of the importance of kinship relations to political actors in premodern settings. Appointments of kinsmen could bring a level of stability and steadiness to political situations that no other set of appointments could offer. Furthermore, why should we assume that imposing a tax on the clergy to pay episcopal consecration costs was necessarily a sign of corruption? Aside from the conflicts swirling around his nephew and access to the income of the hospital of Santa Reparata, the bishopric of Andrea Mozzi was noteworthy for the 1292 accord between the bishop and the chapter over the consecration subsidy, the appointment of Aldobrandino dei Cavalcanti as treasurer, and the patronage of Sant'Andrea. It was also during his bishopric that Pope Nicholas IV appointed Stefano de Broy as canon in the cathedral chapter. It was against the appointment of Stefano as archpriest of Campoli that Bishop Andrea Mozzi struggled until his death. The bishop's family returned his body to Florence for burial in the family parish of San Gregorio. Concerned about the eternal fate of his sibling, Tommaso dei Mozzi gave alms to the hospital of Ricorboli for the repose of his soul.<sup>76</sup>

Andrea dei Mozzi's successor was Francesco Monaldeschi, a native of Umbria (Bagnoregio) who had previously served as bishop of Orvieto between 1280 and 1295. Through his involvement with the cathedral project in Florence from the time of his arrival by December of 1295, he did more than any other prelate to link the upper hierarchy of the church with Florence's newfound status as the foremost commune of Tuscany and papally. A man who had worked previously with Arnolfo di Cambio in Orvieto to create a new cathedral for a commune that also considered itself a "New Jerusalem," the Florentine prelate had probably been instrumental in the decision-making process that shifted the nature of the cathedral project from a

restoration of Santa Reparata to the construction of a new cathedral, to be named Santa Maria del Fiore. Francesco Monaldeschi maintained close relations with the college of cardinals as well as with the pope (Boniface VIII) himself. It seems likely, as Lucio Riccetti has suggested, that the pope chose Monaldeschi precisely because he could bring to Florence the previous experience and knowledge of having supervised a cathedral project in Orvieto. He was also able to resume a partnership with Arnolfo di Cambio, with whom he had previously collaborated in Orvieto. As at Orvieto, Florentine leaders wanted their cathedral to honor not only God but also the people and commune of Florence. Indeed, the reconstructed cathedral was to symbolize the reconstruction, the rebirth, the *renaissance*, of the city itself, the physical manifestation of its newly acquired political and economic status. The dispatch of Francesco Monaldeschi to Florence by Pope Boniface VIII to help build the new cathedral simply cemented the close political ties between the papal curia and the “New Jerusalem” of Tuscany.<sup>77</sup>

Francesco Monaldeschi served as bishop of Florence from September of 1295 until his death in December of 1301. He came as a man with considerable experience as a bishop, papal diplomat, and urban planner. In 1297 he was able to bring to a close the conflict between the black and gray friars of penitence, an agreement that the papacy certainly desired. It was partly because of the partisan pro-black opposition taken by Bishop Andrea Mozzi that an accord had been previously impossible to achieve. In 1299 Francesco Monaldeschi reached another agreement; this one concerned Stefano de Broy and the claim to the archpriestship of Campoli. Like his predecessor Bishop Andrea Mozzi, Bishop Monaldeschi was unwilling to cede patronage rights to Campoli to its collegiate chapter. On August 24, he agreed to appoint Stefano as archpriest, and the chapter agreed to recognize the bishop as the rightful patron. By early December of 1301 the builder and conciliator Francesco Monaldeschi was dead, and he was buried in a tomb in Santa Reparata.<sup>78</sup>

The next prelate was Lottieri dei Tosinghi, a Florentine who was a member of an important lineage of the consular aristocracy, one of the families traditionally responsible for the administration of the temporalities of the bishopric during a vacancy. He had served before as archdeacon of the cathedral chapter and (from 1287) as bishop of Faenza before being installed as bishop of Florence by Matthew of Acquasparta in February of 1302. His tenure coincided with a period of highly destructive factional conflicts within the Black Guelf elite. Early in his tenure he attempted, like his predecessor Bishop Jacopo Rainucci before him, to recover and reconstitute episcopal properties, especially those that had fallen into the hands of the Visdomini. One such property was the *castello* of Montegiove in the Sieve Valley, a possession which Rossellino della Tosa had seized. Demanding restitution of the *castello*, the bishop fell out with his kinsman Rossellino, which put him at odds with Rossellino’s brother Rosso. Because Rosso della Tosa was the

leader of a powerful faction within the Blacks, he pushed the bishop into the camp of his rival Corso Donati. A later chronicler, Simone della Tosa, wrote that the bishop summoned four thousand men in arms on the eve of hostilities between the two factions—all supposedly “vassals” of the bishop. Lottieri della Tosa died in March of 1309 and was buried in Santa Maria Novella, praised and celebrated in a funeral oration by Remigio dei Girolami.<sup>79</sup>

Another Florentine from the prosperous banking and commercial sector followed: Antonio degli Orsi, previously bishop of Fiesole (1309–23) and a kinsman of the Frescobaldi family. His greatest legacy to the Florentine church was the constitutions of 1306 (Fiesole) and 1310 (Florence). A member of the Florentine elite, he was a talented administrator who was committed to the reform and professionalization of the clergy as strongly as he was to the Guelf commune. An important papally appointed broker between the Frescobaldi and the bishop of Bamberg in 1297, Antonio had served first in the cathedral chapter of Florence before becoming a chaplain (*cappellano*) of the pope, charged with numerous diplomatic missions within Tuscany and Umbria. While bishop of Fiesole, he had promulgated the set of episcopal constitutions in 1306 that became the model for the Florentine synodal constitution of 1310. He became bishop of the Arno city in 1309 and served until his death, which occurred sometime between June 1320 and February 1321. To the chronicler Dino Compagni, Antonio was a loyal Guelf and Florentine patriot, but not a person of high moral character: “Bishop Lottieri della Tosa died, and a new bishop was named through simony: a man of low birth, zealous for the Guelf Party and beloved by the *popolo*, but not of holy life.”<sup>80</sup> A member of the middle ranks of the banking and mercantile elite, Antonio degli Orsi was related to the Capponi and Velluti families, as well as the Frescobaldi. He lived with a large staff of at least thirty-five people, spending his time in a variety of locations, including episcopal residences at Montughi, the principal palace, San Miniato al Monte, and at the home of the Guadagni. His lifestyle is probably what earned him Dino Compagni characterization as a man “not of holy life.”<sup>81</sup>

After his death, the papacy initiated an inquisition to discover if he had improperly diverted money from the coffers of the papal tenth that he was collecting to the communal treasury and to members of his own family and household. The inquest ascertained that the total sum collected by Bishop Antonio, which apparently came with the acquiescence of the cathedral chapter, had been 8,250 florins. Of that amount, the bishop had deposited in 1316 with the commune of Florence 5,000 florins to serve as a loan during a period of great turmoil, the war against Uguccione della Faggiuola (“propter timorés illorum temporum ratione guerre cum consensu sui Capituli”).<sup>82</sup> As David-son observed, this grant probably stemmed from the bishop’s commitment to the Guelf commune, but it could also have been an involuntary loan by the bishop to the commune. There is no indication that the commune intended to repay it. Once the inquest confirmed that the transfer

had occurred, however, papal officials gave the commune time to repay the loan of 5,000 florins. Even with that money repaid, the papal treasury was still missing 3,250 florins. To recover it, the papal officials sold Antonio's possessions and collected sums from a variety of people who had apparently received some of the moneys, including the prelate's father (Orso di Orso di Valentino). There was testimony that either the bishop or someone on his behalf had purchased several properties with the money from the papal tenth, including two *poderi* at Marignolle for 1,500 florins. In April of 1323 the papal officials required the Visdomini guardians of the vacant bishopric to pay the bulk of the missing florins out of the income of the episcopal estate within a certain period of time or face excommunication. Other restitutions of the funds came from Orso di Orso di Valentino, the prelate's father, Benedetto di Martino, the notary, and Parigi, archpriest of Vaglia.<sup>83</sup>

One can easily imagine the scene of this strange inquest, conducted in the church of Santa Maria in Campo, the Florentine seat of the bishop of Fiesole (see Map 2). To reconstruct what happened, the papal officials interviewed a long line of men who had been close to the former bishop, including many men we have encountered before. They included his father, his notaries (Ser Benedetto di Maestro Martino), his estate managers (Ser Parigi da Vaglia and Ser Bindo da Calenzano), the Visdomini administrators of the vacant bishopric, and even the writer Francesco da Barberino, designated one of his executors. The latter was apparently the recipient of much of the property of the deceased prelate, who had charged him with the responsibility of paying his creditors and distributing funds to the poor for the remedy of his soul. Along with Francesco Forzetti, Francesco da Barberino was to serve as an executor of the estate. The notary of the inquisition recorded that Francesco da Barberino had received money from the bishop to distribute to certain poor people and to provide for his funeral arrangements and tomb, as stipulated in the Antonio's testament. From the money he received from the estate of the bishop, Francesco da Barberino had to pay the doctors, the salaries of the bishop's staff (*familia*), various debts, funeral expenses, and the cost of the bishop's monumental tomb in the cathedral, for which the executors engaged the sculptor Tino da Camaino. The tomb is now in the central nave on the west wall.<sup>84</sup>

Following his death, again the cathedral chapter split over a successor. Guglielmo dei Frescobaldi and Federico dei Bardi, both from banking families close to the papacy, vied for the post. The latter, as we have seen, was simultaneously seeking the archpriestship of Impruneta, which he claimed came to him by way of papal provision. After two months of wrangling over the candidacy of these two canons, the chapter agreed on the former candidate. It is probable that the Impruneta conflict had played a role in that decision. By opting for Guglielmo dei Frescobaldi, the chapter supported the commune in its conflict with the papacy over Impruneta. Not surprisingly, the papal curia refused to accept the choice of Guglielmo, and it

waited another year before confirming a new bishop. Pope John XXII asserted at this time that the papacy henceforth reserved the right to elect bishops in Tuscany and even elsewhere in Italy. To avoid in the future the kinds of factional, interfamilial conflicts that had characterized episcopal elections for the last fifty years, the commune inserted in its list of official statutes (*Statuto del Capitano*) the stipulation that no one from the dioceses of Florence or Fiesole could be elected bishop. Included in the list were rural lords whose holdings were located in the two dioceses: Counts Guidi, Alberti, Pazzi (of the Valdarno), Ubertini (Arezzo), and Ubaldini.<sup>85</sup>

Following a vacancy of two years, Pope John XXII appointed a loyal Guelf and non-Florentine, Francesco dei Silvestri da Cingoli, previously bishop of Rimini, as bishop of Florence. Unusual because he seems to have come from a peasant background, he had distinguished himself as an active opponent of Lombard Ghibellines. Pope John XXII elevated him to the see of Saint Zenobius, where he served from 1323 until October of 1341. His most important contribution to the history of the Florentine church was the synodal constitution of 1327, which, among other items, attempted to reform the moral life of the clergy and put an end to the *congregatio cleri*. Like Antonio degli Orsi, he was buried in Santa Maria del Fiore.<sup>86</sup> The selection of Francesco de: Silvestri had brought the process of selecting a prelate to a new level of papal regulation and involvement. The elections of 1250 and 1323 were similar in that they both promoted outsiders, non-Florentines. However, by 1323 both the papacy and the commune seemed to be in agreement that the peace and stability of Florence depended on the control if not the outright repression of disputes within the chapter. This was possible only if both institutions (papacy and commune) became more directly engaged in episcopal elections and if members of Florentine elite families were no longer candidates for appointment. After 1341, however, the statute barring Florentines was not always honored by the cathedral chapter, the papacy, or the commune.

## The Mendicants

A wide spectrum of Florentine families was also represented in the mendicant friaries. The social composition of the upper ranks of the mendicant orders included members of the consular elite as well as the upwardly mobile banking lineages, both magnate and nonmagnate. Friar Illuminato dei Caponsacchi, a member of the Franciscan community at Santa Croce at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, was a popular executor of legacies designated for poor relief. A member of a well-established and traditionally Ghibelline family, Friar Illuminato was clearly a man esteemed by many.<sup>87</sup> We know little about this man other than his name, his position in the friary, and his role as a trusted distributor of legacies.

According to a recent study of the friars, the majority of the families



whose presence can be identified in Santa Croce was out of political power by 1295.<sup>88</sup> In other words, many Franciscan friars were members of the magnate lineages, proscribed in 1293 and 1295 from holding the major magistracies of the city. Indeed, the families most heavily represented—the Adimari, Abbati, Bardi, da Gangalandi, Gherardini, Rossi, and Tornaquinci—were all members of lineages proscribed as magnate in 1293 and 1295. However, the lineages represented here were not all aristocratic consular lineages. Among them were also members of the upwardly mobile magnate families closely associated with banking, such as the Bardi and the Mozzi.<sup>89</sup>

The Dominican friary Santa Maria Novella appears to have been more open to members of the *nouveaux riches*, or *gente nuova*, than was Santa Croce. Again, many of the older consular families were represented: the Adimari, Cavalcanti, Donati, Nerli, Scolari, Visdomini, and Tornaquinci. However, present here was also the upwardly mobile banking lineages such as the Spini. Though “popular” in origin, they appeared on the magnate lists at the end of the century. Moreover, we find in Santa Maria Novella many members of nonmagnate popular (*popolani*) families that did not appear in Santa Croce. These included the Acciaiuoli, Medici, Saltarelli, and Strozzi, the families that were to dominate the commune for many generations after the middle of the fourteenth century. All in all, it appears that the mendicant houses, like the cathedral chapter, San Lorenzo, and the bishopric, held within their walls representatives of both the aristocratic consular lineages and the *nouveaux riches* mercantile elite.<sup>90</sup>

## The Social World of the Florentine Church

There seems to have been more fluidity and social mobility within the clergy in Florence between 1250 and 1330 than had been the case at Pisa and Padua between 1200 and 1400, though perhaps not as much as had occurred at Lucca. Not only does the Florentine church appear *not* to have been the preserve of a threatened and backward-looking closed aristocracy, but the elite institutions themselves seem to have been continually open to the upwardly mobile. If the nature of the social changes within the upper ranks of the Florentine church is any indication of broader developments within the ruling elite, it appears inaccurate to posit that between 1280 and 1340 one class replaced another, as Gaetano Salvemini argued over a century ago.<sup>91</sup> Rather, in terms of the social history of the church, it was a single (though combative and often divided) open elite within which older lineages continued to survive and into which newer ones continually arrived. It was neither static, nor did it change in composition gradually. There was conflict, but there was also compromise.<sup>92</sup>

The rapidity by which many Florentines acquired great wealth in the city—mentioned so explicitly by Dante in the *Commedia*—offered opportunities to the upwardly mobile, while at the same time it allowed established lineages

to preserve many of their privileges. The wealth created in Florence was far beyond the resources generated in either Lucca or Pisa. Political and economic connections with the papacy—a necessary element of the Guelf political axis—appear also to have been the decisive factors in propelling many of the upwardly mobile to prominence. The convergence of papal and local family interests in local clerical appointments began in the mid-thirteenth century, and it continued on into the fifteenth, when the Medici finally succeeded in dominating all the other rival families in the city.<sup>93</sup> In terms of ecclesiastical appointments, therefore, the developments of the fifteenth century were actually a continuation of processes that had begun in the thirteenth.

A portrait of elite ecclesiastical institutions as environments in which conflict was common but in which dominant groups—the traditional elite and the rising *gente nuova*—were represented has important implications. It suggests that the Florentine church, in particular its top institutions (the bishopric, the cathedral chapter, the collegiate church of San Lorenzo, its major *pievi*), was one of many important arenas in which a composite but divided ruling elite was able to take shape, coalesce, and consolidate itself. Conflicts were not uncommon, especially over ecclesiastical offices and resources. Yet, they were understandable results of the process by which a localized church was integrated into a continental network of patronage and clientage, and an established ruling elite was enlarged to make room for the upwardly mobile. The presence of all major segments of the ruling class into the institutions of the church suggests that older lineages were still relying on church positions to *maintain* their elite status, while newer, upstart families were simultaneously using them to *authenticate* and *verify* their own entry into the elite. Only the Ghibelline families that had held sway in the first half of the thirteenth century had dropped out of the church by 1300. Indeed, the social environments of the Florentine church helped to forge and shape a composite elite that governed a prosperous, expansionist, and dominant political and economic power in the decades before the arrival of the Black Death.

Though separated by six hundred years, the elite societies of medieval Florence and late nineteenth-century New York bear a certain resemblance. Near the end of Wharton's *Age of Innocence*, the elitist and aristocratic character Lawrence Lefferts lamented at a dinner party that "If things go on at this pace, we shall see our children fighting for invitations to swindlers' houses and marrying Beaufort's bastards."<sup>94</sup> Lefferts did not know it, but this is exactly what happened. The children of the older New York families married the sons and daughters of the upwardly mobile "swindlers" like Beaufort to form a consolidated elite in the early twentieth century. How interesting it is that five hundred years earlier, the bishop of Florence, the nonnoble and nonmagnate Agnolo Acciaiuoli, was defending the interests of his family's former political enemies, the dominant magnate families. In 1343

he pressured the ruling elite of the city to share power with the magnates, fifty years after the passage of the first antimagnate legislation. Like the upwardly mobile families and the established houses in New York at the beginning of the twentieth century in Wharton's novel, the popular (*popolano*) elite and the magnate lineages had discovered at the beginning of the fourteenth century that they had more in common than they had thought. The rise in the fortunes of the Bardi, the Mozzi, the Frescobaldi, the Buondelmonti, and the Peruzzi paralleled the ascent of Florence itself to become the dominant commune in Tuscany.<sup>95</sup> All these lineages shared a mutual desire to make money, maintain social stability, and enjoy the fruits of political office holding, in both the secular and the ecclesiastical worlds. They were the winners of history, but their success came at the cost of many others.

On the last day of July of 1327, Bindo da Calenzano and two other men rode out of the city of Florence on mules to collect grain rents owed their bishop in the fertile Pesa River Valley south of the city. The three men spent twenty-eight days on that trek. Bindo left for posterity a careful accounting of their expenses, including the two lire and ten soldi needed to feed his two companions, Massiotto and Stefano.<sup>1</sup> The amount of grain rents collected by Bindo that summer was substantial. He brought much of it back to the city for sale to a hungry and growing population, a year before the city and countryside were to suffer the effects of severe grain shortages.<sup>2</sup> Episcopal rural estates like those along the banks of the Pesa played a significant role supplying the city with much needed food supplies during its period of most intensive growth, and the grain they produced provided a significant amount of the foodstuffs bought and sold in local markets. Bindo returned with the grain he had collected to the episcopal palace granary, located in an area of the city where the bishop was also actively developing rental property.<sup>3</sup> Although the bishops were the principal spiritual leaders of the diocese, they were also active in shaping Florentine material life.

As innovative beneficiaries of an expanding regional economy, the bishopric and other elite institutions of the Florentine church made significant and constructive contributions to the emergence of Florence as the dominant economic power of Tuscany. At the same time, they and other ecclesiastical communities often acted to support economically and socially those who were either harmed or excluded from the benefits of Florence's rising fortunes. The bishopric, cathedral chapter, and collegiate church of San Lorenzo promoted the process of urban industrialization by helping to provide the growing population with grain, rentable shops to serve the diverse needs of an urban economy, and shelter for new immigrants, seasonal laborers, and others in search of work. By providing social assistance to those who were left outside the newfound prosperity, many ecclesiastical institutions contributed to the preservation of order and stability in a city undergoing a major transformation. Furthermore, by dispersing needed charity to the urban poor and unemployed, hospitals, confraternities, friaries, and churches ministered to some of the needs of those who had been adversely affected by the widening the gap between rich and poor.

In the countryside, elite ecclesiastical institutions contributed to major

structural changes in the agricultural economy after 1250 in at least three ways: they consolidated their properties into compact estates (*poderi*), they transformed perpetual fixed dues to variable short-term rents or sharecropping arrangements (*mezzadria*), and they facilitated the acquisition of rural property by urban dwellers.<sup>4</sup> In addition, ecclesiastical institutions contributed to the emergence of the economic and political success of Florence by subsidizing the military expenses of the Florentine state. Just as Edward I (1272–1307) turned to the English clergy to finance his wars against the Welsh and the Scots in the last decade of the thirteenth century, so did the Florentine Signoria impose special levies on the Florentine clergy for its own onerous military expenses against the Lucchese and Pisans in the early fourteenth. The impact of taxes, direct impacts or indirect revenues called *gabelle*, special subsidies, and the papal tenth on Florentine churches, however, affected those on the lower end of the social scale the most. To meet their obligations, many ecclesiastical communities had to sell property, raise rents, or pressure their parishioners for unpaid tithes or rents. Whereas the upper levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy contributed to the economic changes that often harmed the interests of the Tuscan peasant (property consolidation, the emergence of *mezzadria*, urban taxation, the spread of urban landholding), the parish clergy were sources of economic and social support for many rural residents, often mitigating some of the effects of those initiatives. Indeed, parish priests after 1320 increasingly voiced their opposition to the growing costs of the security and military needs of the state—costs that were placing unsustainable burdens on them and their parishioners.<sup>5</sup> The degree of impact of the “rise of Florence” on the various communities that constituted the Florentine church depended on a variety of factors, including their position within the hierarchy, their class, their gender, and their geographical location. This complex and multi-layered portrayal of the history of ecclesiastical patrimonies and economic interests is therefore a different one from the negative assessment presented by Robert Davidsohn over a century ago. For him, the dominant theme regarding the economic fortunes of the church was decline (*decadimento*) and debt.<sup>6</sup> The truth was much more complicated.

## The Economic Context

Scholars agree that the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century in Tuscan history marked the culmination of the period of economic and demographic expansion that began at the turn of the millennium.<sup>7</sup> The greatest growth occurred at the end of the thirteenth century. Dante captured this reality poetically in canto 16 of the *Inferno* when he complained about the effect of immigration and profit-taking on the Florentine character. The sectors of greatest strength and innovation were agriculture, commerce, banking, and (after 1320) industrial production (textiles). Investment in and ownership of

land remained the dominant and preferred source of wealth and status for the urban and the rural elite. However, in contrast to other communes such as Arezzo and Lucca, few elite residents of the city owned rural properties before the middle of the thirteenth century. In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, however, the acquisition of rural property by urban families, especially in the environs of the city, became more common. A typical example of a merchant with property in the city who acquired estates in the countryside was Lippo di Fede del Segna (c. 1263-c. 1363).<sup>8</sup> Banking and trade catapulted Florence to world-power status, but land remained the principal source of prestige for the wealthy.<sup>9</sup>

The most productive agricultural region in Tuscany was the *contado* of Florence, specifically, the area between the Apennine range and Siena. From the end of the thirteenth century landlords were increasingly able to consolidate scattered properties into single family estates, or *poderi*, thereby creating more efficient units of production. At the same time, as urban landholding spread outward into the countryside, so did the form of tenure called *mezzadria*, the system of sharecropping that required the tenant of the property to surrender half of what he or she produced to the owner. The *mezzadria* pattern of agriculture was closely associated with urban dwellers owning land in the countryside, and it first appeared in the suburbs of the major cities. Its area of greatest concentration was the zone between Florence and Siena (it was virtually absent in the Lucchese countryside). The changes detailed here created more efficient units of agricultural production, but estate consolidation and sharecropping also encouraged the flow of immigrants into the city. The emergence of *mezzadria* and the spread of urban landholding meant that more properties passed out of the hands of the Tuscan peasant, which, in some cases, led to the breakup of rural communities. At the same time, the city itself exerted robust demand on the agricultural economy for grain. Paolo Malanima has argued that it was precisely the synergy between the process of industrialization within the city and the emergence of efficient units of agricultural production (*poderi a mezzadria*) that accounts for the spectacular rise of the Florentine economy over and above that of other communes from the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup> These were developments in which ecclesiastical lords took part; they were not peripheral to them.

Before the early fourteenth century, Florentine entrepreneurs were primarily importing luxury cloth from northern Europe (*panni franceschi* from Flanders and northern France, in particular), refinishing them (primarily dyeing them), and then exporting them to markets throughout the Mediterranean world. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, manufactured Florentine cloth was inferior in quality relative to the best luxury cloth produced in the north. However, in the 1320s, the situation had begun to change, and Florentine producers began to manufacture cloth that was equal in quality to north European *panni franceschi*. This is the same

decade during which Florentine manufacturers began to import significant amounts of English wool (*lana inglese*) to produce luxury products for export.<sup>11</sup> The market for Florentine luxury cloth continued to develop even after 1350, and silk velvets were being manufactured by 1333.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, Tuscan merchants and bankers from Florence, Siena, Lucca, and Pisa supervised an extensive international and commercial network from their bases in the major cities of the continent.<sup>13</sup> By the end of the thirteenth century, Florentine men of business came to dominate the field, and they were active in the kingdoms of England, France, and at the papal curia. This success was twofold. First, Florentine families such as the Frescobaldi, the Bardi, the Peruzzi, and the Spini maintained extensive economic connections with the kingdom of England, and they served as financiers of the wars of Edward I. They lent money to the crown in exchange for customs duties; they transmitted funds abroad (which necessitated considerable foreign exchange), and they traded in wool. Of the Italian firms, the Frescobaldi had provided the most contributions to the forced loans raised by Edward I to fund his military expenses between 1294 and 1298. The Mozzi and the Spini were banking in England as early as 1252, and the ties between the papacy and the Mozzi were very strong as early as the 1270s.<sup>14</sup> Second, the success of Florentine merchant bankers was also directly tied to the Guelf alliance that linked Florence with the Angevin monarchy in Naples (which came to dominate the south after 1266), Charles of Anjou (the papally appointed imperial vicar of Tuscany from 1268), and the papacy in Rome. Connections with the papacy were the most important. From the middle of the thirteenth century, Florentine merchant bankers were managers of papal finances. Their duties included overseeing papal funds in the curia and the collection of taxes. They oversaw the collection and transfers of various sources of income, including subsidies, procurations (travel expenses for visitations), and *servitia* (taxes due on the reception of an ecclesiastical office). Because papal income varied according to the number of vacancies at any given time, these merchant bankers also served as papal creditors. Among the most important merchant-banking companies with important financial and commercial ties to the papacy were the Mozzi-Spini, the della Scala (Scali), the Franzesi, the Bardi, the Peruzzi, and the Frescobaldi. The Mozzi-Spini and Scali served as papal agents in England, and, along with the Cerchi, they helped bankroll the campaign of Charles of Anjou and the Angevin cause. The Franzesi served the papacy in France. Emerging in 1274, the Peruzzi company was primarily involved in cloth refinishing for export and trade. However, along with the Bardi, it was also responsible for papal money transfers in the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>15</sup>

After the Ghibelline defeat of 1266 Florence became the leader of the Guelf political axis, and Guelfs came to dominate towns throughout Tuscany. Ties between Florence and the Angevin monarchy lasted until 1343. In exchange for loans from Florentine banks, the Angevin monarchy offered



Florentine businessmen tax exemptions and privileges that allowed them to export luxury cloth to the kingdom and to import grain from southern Italy. Tuscan banking houses, including those in Florence, lent Charles funds on expected tax revenue collections, and Tuscan communes provided him with troops to fight in Lombardy. Between 1290 and 1347 Sicily exported to Florence about 40,000 *salme* of grain per year.<sup>16</sup> The companies that received the most grants were the Bardi, Peruzzi, Mozzi, Spini, and Acciaiuoli (the same families that came to dominate some of the most powerful ecclesiastical positions in the city between 1250 and 1330).<sup>17</sup> In exchange for loans and the export of finished cloth to the south, the Florentine companies were able to import grain, oil, and livestock to the north. Grain was an especially precious commodity to the Florentine traders, as the city depended on imported wheat to survive. Florence produced only enough grain to feed itself for five months a year. The remaining amount that was needed had to come from outside the city and its *contado*. It had been forbidden from at least the early thirteenth century to export grain outside the *contado* (the *divieto*), and a communal grain magistracy (*Officium bladi*) was operating from 1274 to handle the grain supply.<sup>18</sup> Close connections to the papacy and Charles I of Anjou (king of Naples and Sicily, 1266–85) also opened up lucrative doors for the mercantile families like the Mozzi, and Charles allowed Florentine bankers to do business in Maine and Anjou. He also facilitated the exchange of Florentine cloth for southern Italian grain.<sup>19</sup>

Accompanying the developments detailed above were significant changes in the fiscal history of the commune. Between 1250 and 1300 there were two principal sources of communal revenue: direct and indirect taxes. The origin of the communal direct tax was the former imperial *fodrum* of twenty-six denari per household, collected by the agents of the German emperor in twelfth century Tuscany. Volterra and Siena were collecting these direct hearth taxes before Florence. The first documented instance at which Florence began to collect this tax for itself was in 1198, when Figline swore obedience to it. Florence was also slow to develop its most important direct tax, the *libra*, a property tax levied at a certain amount of money per pound (*per libram*) of an approximation (*estimo*) of the value of propertied wealth. The *estimo* itself was only an assessment and not an actual accurate estimation of the value of property. The tax was set on the basis of that evaluation (*estimo*). It appeared first in Pisa (1162), Siena (1168–75), and Lucca (1182) before being adopted in Florence (1202). By 1271 a complex process for its collection appears to have been in place in many of the communities of the *contado*.<sup>20</sup>

After Campaldino in 1289, it was apparent that new sources of revenue were necessary to fund the offensive and defensive military needs of the city. The *estimo*, called in documents the *libra estimi* or simply the *libra*, the property tax on land and property, could not produce the revenue that took fullest advantage of the burgeoning wealth created by commerce and industry.

Therefore, in the last decade of the thirteenth century, the Florentines began to impose indirect taxes (*gabelle*) on their citizens, which included gate tolls and levies on salt and wine. Villani described thirty *gabelle* in all, and his list was not at all complete. Collected by communes throughout northern Italy in the fourteenth century, these indirect taxes were the richest sources of revenue. In Florence, they accounted for about three-quarters of communal income in 1338. Recognizing in 1315 that *gabelle* were a more stable source of revenue than the old tax on property (the *estimo*), the commune ended the collection of the *estimo* in the city. In the countryside, however, it continued alongside the *gabelle*. After 1315 these indirect taxes became more systematically collected as the fiscal needs of the commune increased, and they were at their heaviest during periods of war (1314, 1315, 1324, 1325). In 1317 communal income from taxes had been 390,000 lire; in 1325 it was 1 million. In 1327 the Signoria decided to reinstitute a revised urban *libra* during the protectorship (*signoria*) of the duke of Calabria. Unfortunately, the combined income from direct and indirect taxes still did not fully meet the military needs of the communal government. As a result, the magistrates turned increasingly to another source of revenue, loans, to supplement their sources of income.

Medieval Tuscan communes relied heavily on government borrowing to meet their expenses, especially after the thirteenth century. There were two common types of loans: voluntary and involuntary (or forced loans, called *prestanze* in Florence). The former were normally secured upon the proceeds of communal income (such as the *gabelle*), and they regularly paid a competitive rate of interest (usually 7 to 8 percent, but it could go up to 25 percent). Genoa and Siena both depended heavily on voluntary loans. In Siena, voluntary loans first appeared in 1287, and they provided a sizable amount of revenue throughout the fourteenth century. To meet extraordinary expenses, the Sienese turned to the church in particular for these types of loans. Although they were “voluntary,” these loans hid what was in effect clerical taxation, technically prohibited in the thirteenth century without papal consent. In Florence, voluntary loans were not uncommon, but they were normally levied on merchant societies and individuals. The first voluntary loan in Florence apparently dated from 1258 and paid 10 percent interest. These types of loans became more common in Florence in the course of the fourteenth century. However, unlike the situation at Siena, Florence had few voluntary loans advanced by ecclesiastical communities (with one notable exception in 1282). Instead, most ecclesiastical payments to the commune after 1300 came in the form of extraordinary levies, subsidies, or imposts, often in the form of “gifts” (*donativi*), usually given with the permission of the papacy. To meet its ever growing military expenses in the early fourteenth century, Florence came to rely more on forced loans and periodic imposts rather than on voluntary loans. *Préstame* became regular after 1315, the same year the commune suspended the *estimo* in the city and began to systematize the collection of the *gabelle*. Along with indirect taxes, forced loans

constituted a principal source of revenue for the city after 1315. In 1345 the Florentines consolidated their forced and voluntary loans into a single funded public debt, the *Monte*, which paid an interest rate to investors and occasionally even repaid the loans.<sup>21</sup>

In the early fourteenth century, in part the result of fiscal pressures, signs of economic contraction began to appear. In cities for which we have records, such as Pistoia, declining fertility rates were first apparent after the turn of the century.<sup>22</sup> Population began to decline well before the arrival of the pestilence from the south. The international companies such as the Bardi began to contract after 1325 as the grain trade became less profitable and Florence imposed even greater fiscal demands on them.<sup>23</sup> A growing burden of taxation from the principal bureaucracies operating in Florence—the city and the papacy—further added to fiscal pressures. The costs of military offensive and defensive operations increased markedly after 1300. The public debt expanded from 47,000 florins in 1303 to 450,000 florins in 1338 (the end of the war with the della Scala), and in 1343 the debt had reached a staggering 600,000 florins. The heaviest tax burden was in the countryside, where in 1350 the load was two to four times greater than in the city. Taxes (in the form of *donativi* or extraordinary levies) that were imposed on urban ecclesiastical institutions in particular increased in the first three decades of the fourteenth century. Also pressuring ecclesiastical institutions were the debasement of the silver and copper-based coins (*monete di piccioli*) and the related deterioration of the value of the petty denaro relative to the florin, which fell 50 percent between 1280 and 1340.<sup>24</sup>

A series of natural disasters added to severe strains on the economy. For example, in 1282 there was a terrible flood of the Arno and a famine, according to Villani. To the chronicler Stefani, the year 1285 was the worst in memory. Villani cited 1286, 1310, and 1316 as famine years, and in 1287 there was a great fire. Food was scarce in the years 1282–86, 1302–3, 1310–12, 1316, 1322–23, and 1328–30. The two-year period between 1328 and 1330 was so difficult that a grain riot occurred at Orsanmichele, and in 1333 a flood devastated the central parishes of the city.<sup>25</sup> Natural disasters only exacerbated the state of the economy. Even as these disasters seemed to increase in frequency, ecclesiastical institutions were continuing to make significant contributions to the economic growth of a commune on the rise. This is clear from an overview of ecclesiastical income and expenses.

## Assets and Income of Ecclesiastical Communities

### Land and Property

The bishoprics of Florence and Fiesole, the cathedral chapter, the urban collegiate church of San Lorenzo, the rural *pieve* of Impruneta, and the urban Badia di Santa Maria were the wealthiest ecclesiastical lords in the two

dioceses, as indicated by the assessments levied on these institutions and their prebends by papal collectors of the papal tenth.<sup>26</sup> The most important asset among the economic resources of the Florentine church was landed property. The elite institutions of the Florentine church contributed to the process of economic transformation by introducing innovations regarding the nature of tenure on their estates, and they facilitated the acquisition of rural properties by urban residents. The consistent if not rising value of land and the income it generated constituted an effective hedge against the effects of the debasement of the silver- and copper-based coins and their deleterious decline in value relative to the florin (for the locations of the properties of the most important institutions, see Appendix E). The amount of land possessed by the institutions of the Florentine church is impossible to ascertain. In the early fifteenth century, according to the 1427 Catasto (the fiscal record that contains a comprehensive list of properties), ecclesiastical properties made up about a quarter of all taxable wealth. The church provided leasable property for rural and urban residents, and the grain that church lords produced from their estates helped feed a growing population.<sup>27</sup> It seems reasonable to suggest that in the early fourteenth century the Florentine church commanded at least a quarter of all taxable wealth and somewhere between a quarter and a third of all landed properties. Many of those properties, located in the major river valleys, were given over to grain production. After the first third of the fourteenth century, ecclesiastical lords were purchasing less land, and some of them began selling some of their landed assets to service their debts. For those two reasons, it seems likely that church property constituted significantly more than 25 percent (perhaps as high as 33 percent) of all taxable wealth in the Florentine region in the early fourteenth century.



Figure 8. The Mugello, location of significant properties of the bishopric and cathedral chapter, looking north toward the Apennines. G. Dameron.

## *The Bishopric*

The wealthiest ecclesiastical landlord was of course the bishopric. As the owner of significant assets in the city and countryside, it wielded substantial economic power and influence over the land and the people living on its estates in both the city (especially after 1270) and the countryside. Far from being conservative, traditional, and rural-oriented, as some historians have argued, its agents were innovative and bold in both the city and the countryside.<sup>28</sup> After 1275 it began systematically to consolidate rural holdings (creating *poderi*), purchase and develop urban property, and shift from perpetual to short-term leases, and even introduce *mezzadria* tenure on some of its properties. The river valleys where its properties seemed most concentrated were rich, grain-growing regions of the Pesa, Elsa, Sieve (in the region known as the Mugello, see [Figure 8](#)), and Arno rivers (see Appendix E and Map 1), and this was also where one may find *mezzadria* tenure on episcopal properties. In the lush Pesa Valley, most of the properties of the bishopric were in the parishes and *pivieri* of Sant'Andrea di Fabbrica, Santa Cecilia a Décimo, Santo Stefano di Campoli, San Martino Episcopi, and Santa Maria di Montecampolese. These were the same *pievi* in which the bishopric wielded significant ecclesiastical patronage rights. In this rich, grain-growing region of the *contado*, the bishops were lords of numerous peasant *fidèles* or

*coloni* who were technically servile dependents of the bishops but who owed customary perpetual rents. They were also lords of numerous castles (*castelli* and *castra*), most of which served as centers for the collection of rents and tithes, and proprietors of several residences (*palatia*) in the *contado* at Monte di Croce, Fabbrica, Pievevecchia (Val di Sieve), and Padule (Valdarno). The prelates were also able to appoint local magistrates (*potestates*) to numerous rural communities in the major river valleys of the diocese.<sup>29</sup>

From the first decade of the fourteenth century leases of consolidated holdings to single leaseholders began to appear. By renting to Florentines, the bishops facilitated the process by which more urban dwellers acquired rural properties. This type of arrangement enhanced the productivity of the land, as it encouraged the consolidation of previously dispersed properties into a single estate managed by one person, not many. These arrangements were common where episcopal estates were most highly concentrated: the Sieve Valley, the Pesa Valley, and the Valdarno west of Florence. For example, in 1319 the bishop granted members of the Saltarelli family from Florence thirty-five separate parcels and one residence (*resedium*) for eight *staia* annual rent near Monte di Croce.<sup>30</sup> Caruccio di Saracino, a baker (*fornaius*) from the commune of San Casciano Val di Pesa, leased all the income owed the bishop in the *piviere* of Décimo (Val di Pesa) for eight years for a payment of thirteen *moggia* of grain per year. This income included rents and customary servile dues, but it excluded the money owed the bishop by the commune of San Casciano as a symbol of its overlordship.<sup>31</sup> On December 23, 1309, Credo di Ristoro and Cenno di Andrea (both residents of the parish of Sant'Andrea di Fabbrica) leased the property of the bishop at Fabbrica and surrounding localities for four years for sixteen *moggia* of grain. They leased houses as well as parcels at Fabbrica.<sup>32</sup> Their contract was typical of many others in grain-growing areas where the bishops held substantial properties. The bishops also farmed out the collection of income in the *piviere* of Campoli,<sup>33</sup> at Castelfiorentino,<sup>34</sup> Borgo San Lorenzo,<sup>35</sup> and elsewhere in the Mugello (see Map i).<sup>36</sup>

Major investment in urban real estate began as early as the mid-thirteenth century. In the middle of the 1250s Bishop Giovanni dei Mangiadori began selling, with the authorization of the commune, much of the holdings of the bishopric in the northern suburbs of the Cafaggio. The principal reason was to help him pay a debt of 5,600 lire, resulting from his contribution to the cost of the wars of the papacy against the sons of Frederick II. With their remaining land in the Cafaggio, the bishops began developing their urban real estate holdings precisely when the collection of their rural rents was becoming increasingly unreliable (the last quarter of the thirteenth century). Much of this urban property was located in the parish of San Lorenzo and covered with vineyards.<sup>37</sup> The bishops' involvement in the development of shops (*apothecae*) for rent in the central parishes helped create the infrastructure that served an economy undergoing industrialization. Those who leased those

shops included bakers, dyers, drapers, and food vendors, among others. Contrary to the opinion of some historians, major ecclesiastical institutions such as the bishopric and cathedral chapter were not primarily rural lords with little if any urban property. By meeting economic demand within the central city for leasable property, the bishops sought to enhance their income flow. The development of urban shops and houses was a guaranteed hedge against the slow decline in the value of the denaro relative to the florin. Renewable lease contracts were short-term (usually one year), which allowed the bishops to take full advantage of supply and demand and adjust their rents accordingly. As an additional guarantee, the bishops required some of their rents to be paid in gold florins. Urban rents also allowed the prelates to pay off debts and to compensate for the difficulty of rent collection on rural estates. They were also major urban landlords, and they were significant players in the development and growth of the city in the northern, eastern, and western suburbs. They contributed to the urban fabric of the city, just as they were benefiting from the growing economy.<sup>38</sup>

There were at least thirty-three shops and several houses developed and then leased by the bishops in the central parishes of the city from the end of the thirteenth century, making them some of the principal landlords in this part of Florence. Importantly, the prelates provided rental space for the growing population of artisans and skilled workers who were seeking to serve the burgeoning parishes in the north of the city. By 1273 the bishop was renting houses and shops in the city.<sup>39</sup> In 1297 Bishop Francesco Monaldeschi obtained a papal license to sell additional property in the Cafaggio to finance more construction and purchases of real estate.<sup>40</sup> In innovative lease arrangements, the renters agreed to build the shops at their own expense. They then leased the property back from the prelate, paying rents that credited their expenses.<sup>41</sup> Involvement in the urban real estate market by 1300 had become more important to the bishopric and cathedral chapter than the small amounts of income derived from the traditional seigneurial dues paid by rural communes or from the symbolic offerings offered on feast days. The communes of Castelfiorentino, San Casciano Val di Pesa, and Borgo San Lorenzo continued to pay the bishopric every year at the episcopal palace a portion of the communal income derived from court fines and property confiscations, just as they had since the 1230s, but the amounts were insignificant.<sup>42</sup>

## *The Cathedral Chapter*

Like the bishopric, the cathedral chapter both contributed to and benefited from the expanding Florentine economy. It served as a supplier of grain (from its estates in the Arno Valley) to a city undergoing industrialization, and it was also a significant developer of urban real estate in the central parishes. It exercised *dominium* over extensive properties, especially in the region west of the city, the Valdarno (see Appendix E for specific locations). Also like the



bishopric, in the closing decades of the thirteenth century, the cathedral chapter purchased and developed real estate holdings in the city, especially in the north central and northwest sectors. Its rural estates were concentrated in particular around Signa and Gangalandi to the west of the city, where it exercised patronage rights in the local *pievi*. Other areas where the chapter possessed lands were in the Mugello (until 1290, near Molezzano and Campiano) and in the city and suburbs of Florence.<sup>43</sup> The chapter relied on the income from its estates to offer financial support to parishes in emergency situations. For example, in 1285 the cathedral chapter lent money to nine parishes to pay their share of Florentine communal taxes.<sup>44</sup> In descending order of importance, its grain-growing properties were the Cafaggio (north of the cathedral complex), the region around Signa in the Arno Valley, and the banks of the Mugnone River just west of the city walls (see Appendix E and Maps 1 and 2). By 1300 cathedral chapter managers had already consolidated the estates along the Mugnone and at Signa into compact holdings (*poderi*). In the case of the Signa estates at least, the type of tenure was a sharecropping arrangement (*ad laborandum ad medium*). Between 1311 and 1319 there were at least 110 separate leases of chapter property and 9 leases of property associated with specific prebends of the canons.<sup>45</sup>

A decision to invest in the city and disinvest in its distant rural holdings in the last quarter of the thirteenth century was a rational choice designed to stabilize income, as it had been for the bishopric. In February of 1291 the commune of Florence purchased property in the Mugello worth three thousand lire in such locations as Pulicciano, Molezzano, Campiano, and Ronta.<sup>46</sup> Following the relinquishment of its Mugello estates, the chapter focused on the collection of income from Signa in the Valdarno and from its real estate holdings in the city. We find chapter properties in the city on the Via Guelfa, the Via di Baila, the Via San Gallo, the Via Nuova, the parish of San Lorenzo, and in the Cafaggio suburb north of the city walls (see Map 2). Some of these leases were six-month contracts. The chapter was buying houses in the city as early as 1271.<sup>47</sup> At a time when the land market in the city was very vigorous, the chapter was buying and selling houses. The Pulci family was collaborating closely with the chapter during some of these transactions. For example, in 1279 Uberto di Messer Rinaldo del Pulce bought a house from the chapter, and in 1281 Messer Sinibaldo del Pulce sold a house to the chapter.<sup>48</sup> At least from 1326 it was leasing property and undeveloped lots (*terrenum et casolaria*) in the parish of San Lorenzo on twenty-nine-year leases. Most of the renters were from the parishes of San Lorenzo, Santa Felicita, and Santa Trinita.<sup>49</sup> In arrangements similar to those of the bishopric, some tenants built the houses (*domus*) themselves, receiving credit for their expenses through the rents they contracted with their landlords.<sup>50</sup>

## *Urban Parishes, Friaries, Confraternities, and Hospitals*

Urban property holding was essential to the economic fortunes of other ecclesiastical institutions of the secular clergy in the city, but this was less true for friaries, confraternities, and hospitals. Landed properties and real estate holdings of San Lorenzo were located in the northern and western suburbs of the city along the Mugnone River, but from 1270, the collegiate church was also renting houses and lofts (*suppalta*) in the central city. Some of the areas of greatest concentration were in the parishes of San Lorenzo, Careggi, and San Marco al Mugnone.<sup>51</sup> It was rapidly becoming a major urban landlord in this zone of the city, responding to the growing market for rental property to serve the burgeoning immigrant population. Some individuals bequeathed urban property to the chapter, as did Gherardo di Cione, who gave two houses and a garden in the parish of San Giorgio to honor God and Saint Lawrence.<sup>52</sup> San Lorenzo owned houses and shops in the parish as early as 1270, which was about the same time that the bishop and cathedral chapter were entering the housing market.<sup>53</sup> Most of the leases were located in the parish, and San Lorenzo let them out for money rents for a limited number of years. For example, Simone di Orlando rented a ground floor and loft (*terrenum et suppalatum cuiusdam domus*) in the parish of San Lorenzo for five lire on a two-year lease. Significantly, this property bordered holdings of Gano dei Anchioni, a local resident and neighbor who was also appearing frequently as a witness in public transactions involving San Lorenzo.<sup>54</sup>

In such a congested and rapidly growing area of the city, there was some cooperation between the canons and local prominent families (like the Anchioni), but there were also occasional disputes. The clash between the collegiate church of San Lorenzo and the family of the Chiarissimi was one such example. It reveals how the desires of a modestly prosperous and upwardly mobile nonelite lineage could collide with the economic needs of a local parish. In this particular case, it appears that members of this family of *popolano* origins sought ownership of a house claimed by San Lorenzo. The two parties—the canons on one hand and the members of the family of an ironsmith on the other—sharply disagreed over who held title to a house in the parish of San Lorenzo. Though the Chiarissimi were nonnoble, they were prominent citizens within the parish. For them, outright possession of a residence in the neighborhood—and not the mere leasing of a house—was an indication of their upward mobility and inclusion in the Florentine elite. After all, the most powerful citizens in the city, like the family of Umiliana dei Cerchi, owned towers in the city center. Ownership of real estate was certainly a mark of status. Rental income could also be lucrative. On the other hand, for the canons of San Lorenzo, who had to shoulder numerous financial responsibilities such as the urban *libra* and the papal tenth, it was absolutely essential to hold on to property rights in a neighborhood in which there was such a robust rental market. To allow the erosion of their property rights in this one case might invite challenges involving other properties they owned in the parish.<sup>55</sup> In 1280 the papal auditor Guillaume Durand issued his

judgment: the house was rightfully the possession of the canons of San Lorenzo, and the Chiarissimi were to pay eighteen lire in court expenses. The losing party however remained recalcitrant. By 1288 the case was before the episcopal court, following the judgment by Durand in favor of the canons. There, hearings on the issue lasted another four months (from November of 1288 to March of 1289). Though it appears that the court was sympathetic to the position taken by San Lorenzo, it is not at all certain what actually happened in the end. The outcome is indeterminate.<sup>56</sup>

Like San Lorenzo, other urban parishes—and even the friaries—also depended on the leasing of urban or suburban property for income and support. The endowment of the urban collegiate church of Santa Maria Maggiore, for example, included a *podere* and at least one house. In 1301 the procurator of the prior of Santa Maria Maggiore leased to a resident of the parish of Santissimi Apostoli an upper floor and room of the house (“*palcum cum camera cuiusdam domus*”) for seven lire a year. In the next year the procurator leased it for eight lire, a 14 percent increase in rent, a significant rise. Living next to this property was the legal scholar Andrea da Cerreto, parishioner of Santa Maria Maggiore. The church also owned at least one *podere* in the suburban parish of Santo Stefano in Pane (northwest of the city), which it also leased.<sup>57</sup>

Technically, the papacy was sole proprietor of mendicant property.<sup>58</sup> However, the sources are replete with references to sales, leases, testamentary bequests, and monetary transactions. Though ostensibly without land, the friars exerted some influence over the land market in the diocese and were particularly involved in significant transactions involving landed properties.<sup>59</sup> In 1262 church officials bought property on their behalf, and we learn that in 1301 the friars sold property at Monticelli. In 1305 they leased property at Novoli (Campoli in the Val di Pesa) to a resident of the urban parish of San Remigio for twenty-eight lire a year.<sup>60</sup> The Servites leased out a *podere* and a house on the Via di Baila, though the proceeds from rental leases become apparent only after 1322. For example, we learn that the convent received about twenty-eight lire in rent for a *podere* in the fall of 1322.<sup>61</sup> By 1330 it was leasing a house on the Via dei Servi for thirty-six lire a year. It appears that the Carmelites had little if any landed property before the middle of the fourteenth century. Once they did acquire some, it was located at Lancisa, Castello, and San Donnino.<sup>62</sup>

Confraternities and hospitals depended less on landed properties and real estate than did the other ecclesiastical institutions, but that is not to say that land was unimportant. The hospital of San Gallo, for example, had significant properties that it rented. There was at least one *podere* in the parish of Santa Maria Novella (leased for five years for almost five *staia* in 1322) and thirty *staiora* in the suburban parish of Santa Maria di Quinto. On the other hand, for Orsanmichele, landed income in the 1320s seems not to have been significant. According the John Henderson's figures, the sale of candles and

the acquisition of oblations (donations) accounted for 27 percent and 57 percent of all income in 1324 and 1325, respectively.<sup>63</sup> However, for the confraternity of San Pier Martire in 1322 and 1323, rents provided 53 percent of all income. The *laudesi* confraternity at Santa Reparata leased two houses and two curiae in the parish of San Simone.<sup>64</sup> Led by six captains and three treasurers (*camarlinghi*) in 1318, the confraternity of San Pier Martire kept a careful account of its income. Rental income in 1318 was less than in 1322, though the company did lease in 1318 the property at Quarto which Friar Giovanni d'Oltarno had bequeathed it. From year to year the annual rent oscillated between 23 and 30 lire. Other lands rented out appear to have been located at Cásale.<sup>65</sup> An overview of the record (the *camerlinghi* calculated the income in six-month intervals) reveals that from 1320 to 1330, the income of the confraternity varied widely, ranging from 140 lire in 1321 to 450 lire in 1329.<sup>66</sup> Santa Maria Nuova, founded by the father of Dante's beloved and ethereal Beatrice, Folco di Ricupero dei Portinari, was endowed with landed property in the *piviere* of Doccia in the Sieve River Valley.<sup>67</sup>

### *The Secular Clergy in the Countryside*

In the countryside, rents from the land also appear to have remained the most important asset and source of income for parish churches. The landed endowment of Santa Maria Impruneta was the most extensive of any rural *pieve*, and its landed assets were scattered throughout the *piviere* in virtually every subaltern parish. There was very little about the local economy that was not affected directly or indirectly by the activities of this *pieve*. Its properties supported the five to six canons as well as provided rentable property for a significant number of local residents. Though far wealthier than most rural parishes, it was typical of other churches in the way it managed its endowment. In the papal tenths of 1276–77 and 1302–03, the assessments of the *pieve* were 114 lire and 67 lire, respectively. No other *pieve* paid as much in either year, indicating that the endowment of this rural collegiate church was the wealthiest in the diocese. Indeed, the church possessed about 20 percent of all the land within its district, as well as property outside.<sup>68</sup>

The economic presence of the *pieve* of Impruneta was felt everywhere.<sup>69</sup> Most of the landed possessions were in the form of recently consolidated holdings, or *poderi*, and the mills were both grain as well as fulling mills. They supplied grain for the local population, and the fulling mills were important assets to the Florentine textile industry. Much of the landed property was located on the banks of the Greve, as were the mills.<sup>70</sup> In the 1320s we find that the *pieve* was leasing *poderi* at Luiano, San Lorenzo in Collina, Santa Maria Impruneta itself, as well as other locations, including Piatano, San Giorgio Impruneta, Morzano, San Martino di Cofferi, and Cafaggio.<sup>71</sup> Leases were for a fixed term, usually varying from two to six years. For example, in 1279 the six canons of the chapter of the *pieve* were drawing income in grain and food provisions on feast days from the leasing of

several consolidated landed holdings (*poderi*) and mills of the *pieve*, located in the parish of the *pieve* and in other parishes on the Greve River (see Map 1).<sup>72</sup>

The properties of churches that were being rented tended to be located in the parishes themselves, usually not far from the church. They could include land, mills, and houses. For example, Santo Stefano a Pozzolatico owned several parcels of land it leased for grain rent, and San Cristofano a Strada had at least one mill in the parish that it could rent for grain and food rents.<sup>73</sup> When the new rector of San Lorenzo alle Ruóse was confirmed in 1301 and took possession of the endowment of his modest church, he received under his care a certain parcel of rentable property. It was adjacent to the church itself. This was also true for the endowment of the church of Santa Maria a Carpineto, to which the Gherardini family held patronage rights. When Presbyter Taddeo became rector in June of 1297 to the sound of bells and the chants of the *Te Deum*, he received into his possession several houses of the church and a parcel (*petium*) of land right next to the church itself (*iuxta ecclesiam*).<sup>74</sup> When the archpriest Bene di Nero drew up his testament in 1329, he counted among his assets one share of a house in his native parish of Paterno (*pieve* of Ripoli) and some cash. Out of affection for Impruneta, he bequeathed some of his estate in the form of legacies to resident canons of the chapter of Impruneta, to the local hospitals, to the poor, and to each rector of the *piviere*.<sup>75</sup>

## Monasteries

The abbeys of Settimo and Passignano were formidable economic players in their local communities. They also were the primary contributors to the local economies as the economic fortunes of Florence were on the rise after 1250: they were major landlords of landed properties and shops and houses, active participants in the grain market, landlords who leased property to tenants at reasonable rates, and patrons of ecclesiastical rights in various churches. Settimo was one of the three largest landholders of the plain west of the city, along with the Nerli and Pulci families.<sup>76</sup> The principal location of the possessions of Settimo was its immediate environs in the parishes of Gangalandi, Mosciano, and San Martino alia Palma.<sup>77</sup> The monastery also acquired some possessions in the city itself, especially shops, houses, and undeveloped lots (*casolaria*). Most of the wealth of Settimo derived from its rents, though it also acquired some income from its tithes, payments by client churches, and mills.<sup>78</sup>

Passignano was an abbey with extensive patronage rights over several local churches, including Santa Maria di Vicésimo, San Bartolomeo di Figline, San Blasio di Passignano (shared with local commune), San Pietro Sillano (shared with the Gherardini), Sant'Andrea di Poggialvento, and San Jacopo a Mucciano. The abbey also was able to help appoint the *podestà* or local magistrate of Poggialvento, a community of about thirty men and their

families, and it marketed a significant amount of grain that fed the local population.<sup>79</sup> Records of rental income at Passignano began in earnest in 1268.<sup>80</sup> In 1284 its patrimony was supporting a community of fourteen (including the abbot, four unspecified men with honorific titles called *domini*, and four lay members of the community, *conversi*). In that year the abbey was collecting significant monetary rents for its houses and shops in Borgo di Passignano. Initially paid in Pisan denari, these rents were perpetual. Forty-one individuals paid the treasurer (*carnerarius*) in 1284 for this property on a monthly basis.<sup>81</sup> A year later forty-four individuals were paying rents for houses and shops in Borgo. However, by this time a greater number of those payments were in Florentine rather than Pisan denari (ranging from six to twelve denari), indicating that the abbey was fast becoming absorbed into the regional market dominated by Florence.<sup>82</sup> In 1284 and 1285 the monastery was also collecting rents in kind (in grain) for land leased of the monastery by local peasants. These renters, called *fideles*, lived close to the abbey, in settlements such as the Borgo di Passignano, Poggialvento, Novoli, and Sambuca. Some of these families had held these properties for decades. Most paid their grain according to the local Passignano measure into the abbey granary, and an abbey official in charge of the grain (*granario*) then sold it to local merchants.<sup>83</sup> In some cases, tenants like Boso from the *pieve* of Bossolo (1298) took their grain rents to a local mill, sold the flour, and then paid the abbey in cash.<sup>84</sup> In 1285 over seventy separate rent payments were being made. By 1285 the number of payments was seventy-nine.<sup>85</sup> Itemized lists of income and expenses at Passignano appear in the records in December of 1297. By the end of the thirteenth century, the economy of the abbey was clearly embedded in a regional economy dominated by the city of Florence.<sup>86</sup>

Local residents seemed not to have been excessively burdened by heavy rents, a situation that was very similar to the landlord-tenant relations on episcopal estates at Monte di Croce in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Here may be a case where local ecclesiastical lords attempted to mitigate the effects of the regional economic changes that were harming peasants on small and medium sized holdings. They were able to lease parcels at reasonable rates contiguous to their own properties, which allowed them to farm consolidated holdings rather than dispersed ones. In the early fourteenth century (for which the sources are more complete), numerous local renters also leased abbey land contiguous to their own. Ricovero di Cambio da Sambuca paid over three lire a year on a five-year lease for some garden plots in his native town. Betto di Buonaguida had a fifteen-year lease of property at Castagno which bordered his own property.<sup>87</sup> Another means by which local renters benefited was the fact that the abbey was apparently either unable or unwilling to collect all the rents it was owed on a regular basis. In 1297 an official of the abbey, Pietro, recorded a series of payments made to him that represented past due rents.<sup>88</sup> Rather than acting according to the stereotype of the oppressive monastic landlord, Passignano seems to have provided needed

economic resources on favorable terms to the residents of local communities. It is conceivable that such policies might have offered reasons for some to stay rather than to leave for Florence.

## Tithes in Both City and Countryside

Along with landed rents in both city and countryside, tithes were a source of income for most ecclesiastical institutions, but we know little about their role in the parochial economy before 1330. They were certainly not as reliable a source of income as rents. By law and custom in Italy, a quarter of all tithes was supposed to go to the baptismal church (*pieve*) and three-quarters to the bishop. This obviously represented more an ideal than a reality. Unfortunately, for the period covered by this book, there are no systematic or accurate records of tithe collection. According to an estimate from the later fourteenth century (1377), the total percentage of the tithe relative to other sources of parish income in the Florentine countryside ranged between 10 percent and 40 percent. For the period before 1330, however, it is impossible—because of the scattered nature of the references in our sources to them—to ascertain the proportion of tithe to overall income. Complicating the picture is the fact that occasionally tithes were withheld, especially by powerful laymen like members of the local nobility. As a result, even two centuries after the Gregorian Reform movement, many tithes continued to remain in the hands of the laity in the early fourteenth century, especially the rural and urban nobility. During periods of grain shortages, or if there had been significant destruction of property resulting from warfare, parishes encountered additional difficulties collecting the local tithe. As a result, for many members of the secular clergy, tithes were still often outside their control.<sup>89</sup>

Quite often wealthy people directed in their testaments that their executors restore withheld tithes to the appropriate ecclesiastical institutions. In one example, the Florentine Aldobrando di Burnetto degli Alfani left three separate legacies in his testament of 1281 to repay withheld tithes. The three institutions affected were the cathedral chapter (ten gold florins), the urban church of Santa Maria Nepotecosa (twenty lire), and the rural church San Martino a Mensola. In the countryside, prompted by guilt and worry, many testators directed their executors to restore withheld tithes to the appropriate institutions. This was what a resident of the parish of San Martino di Corella (Mugello) did in 1328 and what a notary living at Farneto did a year later.<sup>90</sup>

For the bishops of Florence and Fiesole, the cathedral chapter, and other ecclesiastical institutions, tithes were an important concern. They may not have been so important to the average local parish priest, however. In 1315 the bishop collected 116 florins and fifty lire in tithes from the abbot of San Pancrazio, the collector of his tithes for that year. In April of 1321, Bishop Antonio degli Orsi reviewed the record of income and expenses prepared for him by Ser Bindo da Calenzano. The listed income included tithes, but no



amount was given, perhaps because the episcopal factor did not keep an accurate record of each individual payment.<sup>91</sup> Tithes paid at Sant'Andrea di Fabbrica apparently went entirely to the bishop. All persons living in the castle (*castello*) and district (*curia*) of Fabbrica were obliged to pay them. Regarding the bishopric of Fiesole, Monteloro appears to have been a place where the bishop had traditional rights to collect tithes in the form of grain.<sup>92</sup> The cathedral chapter treasurer noted that in February in 1301 it had received tithes totaling three lire from the chapel of San Matteo.<sup>93</sup> Tithes were also a source of income for San Lorenzo. The church of Santa Maria di Peretola, for example, paid San Lorenzo a tithe of four *staia* grain, given by a certain Claro da Peretola.<sup>94</sup> For the local parish clergy, however, there are few if any references in the notarial protocols to the collection of tithes. Is it possible that local priests were reluctant to insist that their hard-pressed nonwealthy parishioners surrender a tenth of their income to them?

In general, tithes tend to appear in the sources only when someone was given the responsibility to collect them. In 1277, for example, Ubertino, the prior of Santa Maria Novella, mandated that Basilio (rector of San Jacopo di Polverosa) collect the tithes of the convent ("mandatum ... recolligendi et percipiendi omnes decimas").<sup>95</sup> They also find mention in the sources when there are arguments over who has the right to collect them. In 1318, for instance, several parishes (including the *pieve* of Settimo) were engaged in a sharp dispute with the monastery of Settimo over the local tithes.<sup>96</sup>

How were tithes actually collected? The clergy usually deputized syndics or procurators. In 1262, the cathedral chapter, for example, appointed three syndics to collect the tithes from its Mugello estates. Archpriests of the largest parishes appointed procurators to collect local tithes. In 1277, as we have noted, the friars of Santa Maria Novella appointed a certain Basilio to gather its tithes, and in 1290, the rector of San Giusti di Falgano appointed an official to collect them, as did the archpriest of Sant'Appiano in 1327.<sup>97</sup> When they were difficult to collect, some rectors (like the rector of Valcava in 1311) had to go to the bishop for assistance to collect the tithes he thought he was owed. In 1330 the archpriest of Sant'Appiano was encountering difficulty with a local resident over the payment of a tithe (this is not surprising, as 1330 followed a year of severe dearth).<sup>98</sup> There are however examples of agreements worked out between rectors and individuals over the payment of tithes, as we can see from an example from Petrognano in 1314. Local arbitrators such as notaries often acted to settle disputes. In 1323 the rector of San Casciano a Décimo and a resident of Florence who owned property in the parish were able to resolve their differences over a dispute involving tithes.<sup>99</sup> Perhaps it is precisely because tithes—like rents in many places—were so difficult to collect that the wealthiest ecclesiastical lords turned increasingly to the burgeoning land and real estate market of the city as sources of income.

## Income (Parish Churches)

Although we have some information about the institutional and economic structure of parishes, we have few records of annual parochial income. Only in the 1330s, when visitation records become more frequent, do we begin to find actual figures for income of parish and collegiate churches. This limited evidence, if at all representative of the diocese as a whole, reveals that whereas income could vary dramatically from church to church, only two out of three churches brought in money that exceeded the annual income of an unskilled laborer in the city. One out of three was unable to meet necessary annual expenses (as measured for the city). Like Florentine society as a whole, the Florentine church was divided by class. In January and June of 1335, when the abbot of the suburban monastery of San Miniato al Monte conducted three visitations to three of the churches within the patrimony (*collatio*) of the abbey, he requested information about the annual income of the parishes. San Paolo a Mosciano (near Scandicci and Giogoli), the wealthiest of the three, reported that its endowment of lands, vineyards, and olive trees yielded an annual income of eighty-five lire. San Bartolo a Montalto reported its income in quantities of grain and wine (twenty *staia* grain, ten *staia* spelt, and six *salme* of wine). The wheat alone was equivalent to about thirty lire. San Piero ad Ema reported an annual income of sixteen lire. Even if these figures are adjusted upward to include tithes (perhaps 30 percent of all income) and testamentary legacies (15 percent of all income, if at all collected), they suggest that the income of churches could vary tremendously (from 154 to 55 to 29 lire), depending on the size of the endowment.<sup>100</sup> In florins, the income of these churches varied from 60.4 florins (154 lire or 3,080 soldi), to 21.6 florins (55 lire or 1,100 soldi), to 11.4 florins (29 lire, or 580 soldi).<sup>101</sup>

Whereas the wealthiest of the three churches exceeded the income (3,080 soldi) that was needed for one person to meet his annual expenses (936 soldi) in the city, the one in the middle (San Bartolo) was probably bringing in just slightly more (1,100 soldi) than was required to support a single person in the city. This was roughly the equivalent of what an unskilled laborer was making per year (1,164 soldi) between 1326 and 1332. The poorest of the three, however, San Piero ad Ema (580 soldi), was receiving only two-thirds (62 percent) of what was necessary for a person to survive in the city. Furthermore, this poorest church in our sample of three was bringing in significantly less income per year in 1335 than an unskilled laborer in Florence in 1332 (580 soldi, for the church, as opposed to 1,164 soldi, for the laborer). If this sample is at all emblematic of the diocese as a whole, it suggests that two-thirds of the rural churches in the countryside were either barely able or absolutely unable to make ends meet, relative to the cost of living as measured in the city. Granted, the general cost of living in the country was probably less than that in the city. Nevertheless, it was not

always the case that grain was cheaper in the *contado* than in the city. Furthermore, rural residents were increasingly dependent on goods from Florence itself, such as textiles, agricultural tools, and building materials. Relating rural ecclesiastical income to the urban cost of living is therefore an appropriate measure of comparison. To supplement their income, rural priests needed to attract in-kind gifts of food and movable goods from their parishioners (furniture, tools, and so on).

We can compare our early fourteenth-century figures with those from the end of the fourteenth century, when the overall picture portrays a clergy whose conditions were apparently even worse. The marked discrepancy between wealthy and poor parishes was as true in 1377 as it had been before 1340. In 1377, during the War of the Eight Saints, the commune generated an *estimo* (the assessment of the value of the property) of ecclesiastical patrimonies. In one restricted case study (the Val d'Elsa), Charles de La Roncière observed that only one in two archpriests was apparently wealthier than parish priests from well-endowed parishes. Income of assessed ecclesiastical institutions varied from three florins to more than fifty per year (from 204 to 3,400 soldi), and only 5 percent of parish priests were making in one year (1377) what a master mason was making. Nine of ten beneficed clergy were making less money than an unskilled laborer. About 70 percent of all priests—beneficed or not—did not achieve the income level of unskilled laborers.<sup>102</sup>

Was the situation after 1377 worse than it had been before the Black Death? Charles de La Roncière has estimated that between 1330 and 1340 in the Val d'Elsa, 80 percent of priests had income superior to that of an unskilled worker, and 60 percent were doing better than a skilled laborer (such as a mason). He argues for a massive collapse of income after 1340. My own very restricted analysis of the three churches within the patrimony (*collatio*) of San Miniato al Monte in 1335 reveals that two of the three churches in the sample were receiving income either equal to or superior to the annual income of an unskilled laborer (1,164 soldi), and one (the wealthiest) was bringing in more income than that of a skilled laborer (2,172 soldi). Two of the three were still just barely making it. Suffice it to say that members of the clergy in the diocese as a whole were probably doing better before 1340 than their counterparts on the other side of the destructive plague epidemics of the middle fourteenth century. Nevertheless, if these earlier figures are representative, two of three churches were still barely able to make what an urban unskilled laborer was able to earn, and one was making significantly less. Most churchmen in the countryside were apparently either living on the margins of subsistence or significantly below it, even before the plagues of the second half of the century. This may help explain why there was such alarm among the secular clergy regarding the increased burden of taxes in the 1320s.

To meet his living expenses, a typical member of the clergy therefore had

to rely on a variety of sources of income. Except for the elite institutions, the prebend alone provided only a small portion of clerical income. It was insufficient to support the annual living expenses of a parish priest or a clergyman in minor orders (such as the *clericum* at Nizzano).<sup>103</sup> He needed also to rely on testamentary legacies, mortuary payments, tithes (if indeed they were regularly collected), and altar offerings (oblations). Among the 2 percent of the population who were in the secular clergy, yearly income deriving from the stipends and prebends of the various ecclesiastical offices varied greatly, depending on the location and the clerical rank of the one holding the benefice. Let’s look at five examples of the stipends in five churches.

TABLE 3. MONTHLY EXPENSES, 1289–1293, 1326–1332

| <i>Cost (in soldi), 1289–93</i> |      |
|---------------------------------|------|
| Single person                   |      |
| Food                            | 354  |
| Other expenses                  | 184  |
| Total                           | 478  |
| Family of four                  |      |
| Food                            | 1887 |
| Other expenses <sup>a</sup>     | 130  |
| Total                           | 1997 |

Sources: Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 250, table 7.1; Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 436–37. Henderson based his data on Charles de La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 280, 326, 394–95, 397, table 72; “La condition des salariés à Florence au quatorzième siècle,” 17.  
<sup>a</sup> Other expenses include clothing and housing costs.

TABLE 4. WAGES, 1289–1293, 1310, 1326–1332

| <i>Daily wages (in soldi)</i>    |                                                                  |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                  | <i>Usual</i><br><i>Minimum</i><br><i>Maximum</i><br><i>labor</i> |
| 1289–93                          | 2.8                                                              |
| 1310                             | 3.8                                                              |
| 1326–32                          | 8.6                                                              |
| <i>Monthly wages (in soldi)*</i> |                                                                  |
|                                  | <i>Usual</i><br><i>Minimum</i><br><i>Maximum</i><br><i>labor</i> |
| 1289–93                          | 100                                                              |
| 1310                             | 162.8                                                            |
| 1326–32                          | 187                                                              |

Sources: Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 250, table 7.1; Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 436–37. Henderson based his data on Charles de La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 280, 326, 394–95, 397, table 72; “La condition des salariés à Florence au quatorzième siècle,” 17.  
<sup>a</sup> The monthly incomes are based on the assumption that a month contains 21 working days (Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, table 7.1, 250).

Generally, as Table 6 indicates, when studied in relation to Tables 3, 4, and 5, prebends were significantly below the annual minimum (936 soldi, or about 47 lire) needed to provide a decent living for a single person living in

the city. In the examples given in [Table 6](#), the stipends alone represented only 13, 17, 4, 54, 17, and 33 percent of the minimum needed (in the countryside, costs were probably lower than in the city). When we average the six prebendary stipends together, we learn—based on this small sample—that the average was about 18 soldi per month, or 10.8 lire per year (216 soldi). This was apparently not enough to provide a sufficient living around 1330 for a single person for a year (47 lire, or 936 soldi). Indeed, it is less than a quarter of the amount needed, assuming, of course, that they were paid. It would meet the expenses for about three months, assuming that in 1330 one needed about 78 soldi a month to meet expenses (see [Table 3](#)). How did they survive? Given the close and cooperative relations that existed between clergy and priests, it seems likely that the local population must have cared for the welfare of its poorest clergy.<sup>104</sup>

TABLE 5. ANNUAL INCOME AND COST OF LIVING FOR A SKILLED LABORER, 1289–1293, 1326–1332

|         | <i>Cost of living (lire)</i> |
|---------|------------------------------|
| 1289–93 | 86                           |
| 1326–32 | 109                          |

Sources: Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 250, table 7.1; Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 436–37. Henderson based his data on Charles de La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 280, 326, 394–95, 397, table 72; “La condition des salariés à Florence au quatorzième siècle,” 17. To generate annual incomes in lire, monthly costs from [Table 3](#) have been multiplied by twelve and then divided by twenty (as there are 20 soldi in each lira).

The prebend was therefore only a fraction of the annual income of the secular priest. This was the case within the upper ranks as well. For members of collegiate churches, however, prebends were often paid in the form of grain. If the prebend came in the form of grain instead of cash, the canon benefited, even if the amount of the prebend still remained less than what an unskilled laborer was making per year. He was able to take advantage of the grain market. However, whenever the market declined (as it did, for example, between 1314 and 1315, when the price per *staio* declined from twelve to nine soldi), a canon could experience a loss of income relative to the year before. Let’s look at two brief examples of prebends paid in grain. The cathedral canon, Manno, was able to gain about 30 lire from the sale in 1317 of wheat on the land of his benefice, but he was still only making about a third of the income a skilled laborer was able to make in a year (109 lire; see [Table 5](#)). In 1308 two canons of the collegiate church of San Salvatore di Castellina in the Chianti were making four and two *moggia* of grain per year. If we refer to the 1309 price per *staio* (9 soldi), we find that after cashing in they were making 864 soldi and 432 soldi on their prebends per year, respectively. Both figures were significantly below the annual income of a skilled laborer in 1289–93 (1,200 soldi) and 1326–13 (2,172 soldi).<sup>105</sup>

The higher and the more prestigious the appointment, of course, the more likely it was that a churchman could choose to use his resources and influence, especially if he lived in the city, to increase his income significantly. For

example, every summer a cathedral canon would be able to sell a significant amount of grain grown on the land that came with his prebend. If he was a canon of the cathedral chapter or of an important collegiate church such as San Lorenzo, for example, he could also speculate in the real estate market by buying and selling property. Stefano de Broy, we may recall, accumulated, traded, bought, and sold significant amounts of real estate in the central city, often with the cooperation and support of his fellow canons in the cathedral and colleagues in San Lorenzo. Cathedral canons also benefited from the lending of money among themselves, and those who were well connected to the papacy (like Stefano de Broy) were also in a position to supplement their income from the fees they made as judges delegate or procurators in legal cases.

TABLE 6. MONTHLY CLERICAL STIPENDS IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

|                                  | <i>Stipend (liri/soldi)</i> |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| San Casciano a Décimo (rural)    | 10 <sup>a</sup>             |
| San Frediano (urban)             | 13.3 <sup>b</sup>           |
| San Michèle a Nizzano (rural)    | 3.3 <sup>c</sup>            |
| Santo Stefano in Pane (suburban) | 42 <sup>d</sup>             |
| San Miniato a Quintole (rural)   | 13.3 <sup>e</sup>           |
| San Michèle Berteldi (urban)     | 26 <sup>f</sup>             |
| Monthly Average                  | 17.9                        |

Sources: Clerical stipends were found in the archival sources (the Notarile Antecosimiano) listed below.  
<sup>a</sup> ASF, NA 2354, fol. 77r. The annual income from the benefice for a cleric (perhaps in minor orders) was 6 lire in 1307.

<sup>b</sup> ASF, NA 18783, fol. 64r. In 1307 the canon of San Frediano, Presbyter Bonsi, protested before the prior that he had not been paid for four years (thirty-two lire). The prior could not respond positively because the church did not have the resources.

<sup>c</sup> ASF, NA 2359, fol. 180r–v. As a comparison, the secular magistrate of Impruneta, the rector, was making twenty lire per year (33.3 soldi per month), ten times the amount made by the cleric (*clericum*) at Nizzano.

<sup>d</sup> On October 27, 1313, Ranieri di Rosso della Tosa received from the archpriest of Santo Stefano in Pane twenty-five lire as the annual payment for his prebend in the church (ASF, NA 9569, fols. 3v–9r). It comes to 41.7 soldi per month.

<sup>e</sup> The payment at Quintole was for his prebend and salary (*pro salario et prebenda*) (ASF, NA 2358, fol. 89r). At Quintole in 1330 Matteo di Zenobio received the appointment as canon (NA 2359, fols. 180r–v). We find an aristocrat as the rector of that collegiate church in 1313, Ranieri di Rosso della Tosa (ASF NA 9569, fols. 3v–9r).

<sup>f</sup> ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, July 17, 1303. The stipends of this urban church were paid in florins. The prior received fifteen florins annually, and two canons received six florins annually. This example refers only to the payment to the canons (six florins). In 1303 a florin was worth fifty-two soldi (Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 429); hence, the prior made the equivalent of sixty-five soldi per month.

## Mortuary Income, Testamentary Legacies, Altar Offerings, and Other Sources of Income

How did members of the secular clergy manage to supplement their paltry prebends to provide an adequate living for themselves? Mortuary income,

testamentary legacies, and altar offerings (oblations) supplemented the stipend, especially in urban institutions. For this reason, members of the secular clergy were fiercely and understandably protective of the economic entitlements that came from their exercise of pastoral rights. Their heavy dependence on sources of income other than the stipend or the prebend helps account for their truculent and vociferous objections to the claims by the mendicants to these same sources of income. Conflicts over the exercise of pastoral rights, therefore, were not simply results of greed or corruption (as Davidsohn and Burckhardt argued); they were sometimes matters of economic survival.

Of particular importance was the income associated with burials. One of the most famous grave sites in Florence from Dante's period is the column that marks the spot of the grave in Santa Maria Maggiore of Dante's mentor, the poet relegated for eternity in the circle of the sodomites in canto 15 of the *Inferno*, Brunetto Latini. The canons of Santa Maria Maggiore stood to gain from burials like that of Latini from a variety of sources. First, there were the offerings or fees (*oblaciones*) made by relatives at the altar during the funeral. Second, there was the income resulting from the resale by the clergy of the materials used during the funeral, specifically the funeral vestments and draperies, including the pall used to cover the body, and the unused candles. Conflicts over the rights to the resale value of these items could lead to serious clashes between parishes or between the regular and secular clergy. Many other conflicts also erupted between the secular and mendicant clergy, especially since from the time of Innocent IV (1243–54) anyone was allowed to be buried in mendicant cemeteries if he or she wished.<sup>106</sup> In some cases, the parties in disputes over burial locations had to appeal to the bishop for adjudication.<sup>107</sup> These cases were not numerous, but they reveal that there were deep animosities unleashed by conflicts over mortuary income.<sup>108</sup> The best and most notorious example of such a conflict (1311–21) was the decade-long argument between the cathedral canons and the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella over the funeral vestments of Betto dei Brunelleschi. The synodal constitution of Florence in 1310 acknowledged the existence of sharp rivalries among clergy over these rights and attempted legislatively to restrain them and to facilitate their resolution.<sup>109</sup>

### *Testamentary Legacies*

The secular and mendicant clergies also stood to gain from the income deriving from numerous testamentary legacies, and they directed a significant amount of it to relief for the poor and to commemorative masses. Historians such as Richard Trexler have assumed—even for Florence—that legacies to parish churches were declining in the late thirteenth century relative to the mendicant orders and that papal and episcopal legislation intended to redress that imbalance.<sup>110</sup> That may have been so, but a comprehensive study still needs to be done. Nevertheless, it is difficult to see how one can argue that



testamentary income for seculars was declining when testamentary legacies actually began in Florence in large numbers only in the 1270s (see [Table 7](#)).<sup>111</sup> Enough information exists to note that the secular clergy continued to collect significant numbers of testamentary legacies throughout the period covered by this book. The number of legacies going to the mendicants relative to the seculars was certainly increasing after 1250. The mendicants might have been receiving larger legacies than their secular counterparts, but testators were certainly not neglecting their own parish priests, who continued to receive attention from their parishioners.

Testaments began to appear in large numbers only at the end of the thirteenth century, and the secular clergy appeared as prominent recipients of legacies from the very beginning of that period, as did the mendicants.<sup>112</sup> There are at least 646 surviving testaments from the city and countryside, dating from 1254 to 1331. They reveal that the secular clergy received significant numbers of testamentary legacies in *both* the city and the country, even though the mendicants were indeed receiving more and larger bequests in the city. We should be careful not to exaggerate the extent of the losses of the seculars relative to the mendicants, even if we cannot deny that the presence of mendicant communities in the city was depriving the secular clergy of a significant amount of testamentary income.

Of this total number of testaments (646), at least 471 testaments were urban and 130 rural. In two urban notarial protocols alone (those of Lando di Ubaldino, San Lorenzo, and Opizzo da Pontremoli, Santa Croce), there were 328 urban testaments (70 percent of all urban testaments in the sample and 51 percent of the total for both countryside and city). The earliest testament from either the city or the countryside dates from 1254, and the last from the sample is from 1331. There were 302 male testators, or 47 percent of the total (631). Female testators accounted for 329 of the total, or 51 percent.<sup>113</sup> Testaments drawn up in the city accounted for 73 percent of the total, and 20 percent of all testaments came from the countryside (7 percent were unspecified). The first urban testament (in which the testator is linked to a specific parish) dated from 1261, and the first identified rural testament dated from 1275. It indicates that testaments originated in the city but spread to the countryside rapidly. When we look at testaments that were actually executed, we find some interesting conclusions. Out of 505 testaments (which excludes the 141 in the protocol of Lando di Dino, for which I recorded only the gender and burial choice of the testator), there were only forty-five named executors (9 percent), thirty-four men and eleven women. A slight majority of those 45 executors were urban (twenty-six versus only four in the countryside; the others were unspecified). Twenty friars executed testaments, as did six members of the secular clergy and four members of the regular clergy.

TABLE 7. TESTATORS LEAVING AT LEAST ONE LEGACY TO SECULAR AND/OR MENDICANT CLERGY, 1255–1330

| <i>Years</i>           | <i>To secular clergy</i> | <i>To mendicant clergy</i> | <i>Number of testaments</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1255–64                | 1                        | 5                          | 9                           |
| 1265–74                | 1                        | 1                          | 4                           |
| 1275–84                | 8                        | 8                          | 17                          |
| 1285–94                | 10                       | 6                          | 15                          |
| 1295–1304 <sup>a</sup> | 95                       | 135                        | 260                         |
| 1305–14                | 28                       | 19                         | 69                          |
| 1315–24                | 21                       | 19                         | 46                          |
| 1325–30                | 52                       | 24                         | 83                          |
| Total                  | 216                      | 217                        | 503                         |

Sources: ASF NA (notarial protocols dating from 1250 to 1330); *Conventi Soppressi*: Santa Maria Novella, Santo Spirito, Santissima Annunziata, Passignano; ASL (*pergamene* dating between 1250 and 1330); and ASF Diplomatico (*pergamene* dating from 1250 and 1330).

Note: This table reproduces the number of testaments that include at least one legacy for the secular clergy and/or the mendicants. Most testaments included legacies to both. The table does not, of course, reveal the size of the legacies given. An unsystematic analysis of these 503 testaments from 1255 to 1330 indicates that the largest legacies were made by urban residents to the mendicants (the total number of testaments I found in the sources for the period between 1250 and 1331 was 505).

<sup>a</sup> ASF, NA 15527 (Opizzo da Pontremoli) contains dozens of testaments left by *pinzochere* living near Santa Croce during this decade.

In their testaments Florentines did not neglect the secular clergy. Of the 503 testaments from both the countryside and the city between 1250 and 1330 (again, excluding the 141 testaments from the protocol of Lando di Ubaldino), 217 included at least one bequest to the mendicants and 216 to the secular clergy. In other words, about as many people who left at least one bequest to the mendicants also left at least one legacy to members of the secular clergy. As [Table 7](#) reveals, this was true for all decades but one, 1295–1304 and 31.

The number of bequests to the mendicants peaked in the decade between 1295 and 1304. The community of women tertiaries (*pinzochere*) at Santa Croce alone left 187 testaments for the period from 1297 to 1300. This cluster of testaments distorts the sample.<sup>114</sup> Many of those legacies went to the friars of Santa Croce. With the exception of those years, on the whole, about as many people in our sample who were leaving at least one legacy to the mendicants were also doing so for the secular clergy. The data indicates that members of the laity were not ignoring the seculars in their legacies. In fact, more testators between 1315 and 1330 were giving at least one legacy to the seculars than were doing so for the mendicants. One possible explanation is that during the decade of intense financial and fiscal burdens on parish churches, testators paid particular attention to the secular clergy when it came to deciding who would receive their legacies. The friars in Santa Croce received numerous legacies in our period, but so did some of the local parishes near the friary. Among the parishes selected by testators living in or near the parish of Santa Croce to receive legacies were San Simone (a parish close to Santa Croce), San Giorgio, San Jacopo tra' Fossi, San Michèle Visdomini, and San Remigio. In particular, two secular priests, the rectors of

San Remigio and San Simone, received special attention.<sup>115</sup> A notable example of an urban testament was that of Andrea da Cerreto, the lawyer and scholar. He left a legacy to his parish church, Santa Maria Maggiore, and stipulated that six priests should celebrate mass on the anniversary of his death in the church every year.<sup>116</sup>

### *Nonlanded Income of San Lorenzo and Impruneta*

Testamentary legacies, altar offerings, and burial fees (which were actually offerings) were all important sources of income for San Lorenzo. In 1324 the collegiate church received a legacy of half a house and several parcels of land at Campi.<sup>117</sup> San Lorenzo received income in the form of altar offerings (*oblaciones*) on a monthly and daily basis. Many of these offerings were left on the altar at masses, but some were also for the souls (*pro anima*) of individual family members who were deceased. We learn, for example, that in November someone left four soldi, two denari for the soul of a certain Bello, who lived in the parish of San Jacopo d'Oltrarno. In December of that year someone left eighteen soldi for the female lay penitent (*pinzochera*) Locca. San Lorenzo also received customary monetary payments on the feast day of its patron saint. For example, in 1306 the basilica received eighteen lire, seven soldi at the feast of Saint Lawrence in August.<sup>118</sup> In the early fourteenth century, many *pinzochere* and other urban residents made numerous *pro anima* offerings to the canons of San Lorenzo.<sup>119</sup>

Legacies and burial fees could be a cause of friction between churchmen. In March of 1276 the friars of the Knights of Saint John at San Giovanni Battista (the Hospitalers) agreed with San Lorenzo that in the future those Frenchmen or Europeans from north of the Alps who died in the parish of San Lorenzo should be buried there. Furthermore, the friars promised to pay the chapter half of the legacies and offerings that they were to receive from burials or from their testaments.<sup>120</sup>

Mortuary income and testamentary legacies also supplemented the income from tithes and the leasing of landed property at Impruneta. Occasionally, conflict over burial fees erupted into disputes. The conflict over the burial of Chiara in 1311, the widow of Bencino da Pitigliolo, for example, pitted Impruneta against Sant'Ilario a Pitigliolo. The case went before the episcopal vicar, Enrico da Cremona, who settled in favor of Impruneta.<sup>121</sup> Testaments associated with the *piviere* of Impruneta appeared in the early fourteenth century. From 1301 to 1330 local notaries recorded twenty-three testaments, the vast majority of which dated from the 1320s. Local residents commonly left legacies to the local clergy for postmortem or commemorative masses. The pattern was to include money for members of the secular clergy associated both with the church of the *pieve* of Impruneta and with several subordinate churches to which the testator showed special devotion. Legacies to confraternities were also included. By far the institutions receiving the largest number of legacies were the church of the *pieve* of Santa Maria

Impruneta and the six rural confraternities associated with Santo Stefano a Pozzolatico, San Piero a Montebuoni, San Miniato a Quintole, San Michèle a Nizzano, and San Giorgio in Poneta. The vast majority of legacies to ecclesiastical institutions were for five or more soldi, and testators designated them for postmortem masses, the repair of local churches, and donations to churches and confraternities. In particular, many of the testators identified particular priests for legacies for postmortem masses, presumably because they knew and trusted them. For example, on October 3, 1323, Bella, a widow from Castrobonizzi, stipulated that at her death thirty-one soldi were to go to Bruno, canon of Santa Maria Impruneta, for masses for her soul. Presbyters Benuccio of San Lorenzo alle Ruose and Dono of San Miniato a Quintole also received legacies for masses in 1326.<sup>122</sup> Two testators specifically charged local priests (the archpriest Bene di Nero, along with Presbyter Benuccio of San Lorenzo alle Ruose) with the responsibility of redistributing ill-gotten gains that had been acquired through usury.<sup>123</sup> Documented references to the actual execution or probate of testaments and wills were rare. Indeed, in all the documents associated with Impruneta, there is only one.<sup>124</sup>

### *Nonlanded Income of Hospitals and Confraternities*

Testamentary legacies and offerings were also significant sources of income for both hospitals and confraternities. Income received by the confraternity of San Pier Martire consisted primarily of offerings for postmortem masses and candles given on Sundays and feast days.<sup>125</sup> Of the income of Orsanmichele, 57 percent was in offerings or oblations in 1324 and 1325. Both rural and urban confraternities also benefited from testamentary legacies.<sup>126</sup> At least five confraternities associated with churches within the *piviere* of Impruneta (Impruneta the *pieve* and churches at Pozzolatico, Montebuoni, Quintole, and Nizzano) benefited from such bequests. They received the lion's share of legacies in testaments in the area in the first three decades of the fourteenth century, and their situation was typical of confraternities in the countryside as a whole.

### Liabilities and Expenses

Between 1250 and 1330 ecclesiastical communities contributed to the transforming economy: they marketed grain to feed a rising population of industrial workers, paid taxes to support the military expenses of the commune, constructed some of the most impressive structures of fourteenth-century Europe, and consolidated property both in and around the city. Such contributions helped subsidize the military subjugation of Tuscany, transform the agricultural economy into one of the most productive in Italy, make Florence a center of artistic and architectural inspiration, and bring stability to the commune as it was undergoing rapid demographic growth and political change. At the same time, many ecclesiastical institutions and communities

acted to mitigate the deleterious effects of this transformation on the least fortunate members of Florentine society. They provided charity to the increasing ranks of the indigent and offered shelter and food to newly arrived immigrants and the recently unemployed. In the countryside, many members of the secular clergy came to the aid of their parishioners by providing them with desirable land at reasonable rents, credit, charity, and occasional relief from rent payments. They also acted as mediators in disputes and advocates for their local communities before Florentine urban officials.

## The Purchase and Consolidation of Property

At the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, ecclesiastical lords were expending a significant amount of funds to purchase land to consolidate their properties. They were therefore contributors to the complex process of economic restructuring in the Florentine countryside that began in the second half of the thirteenth century and led to the creation of consolidated farms (*appoderamento*), the diffusion of urban landholding in rural areas, and the proliferation of the *mezzadria* (sharecropping on consolidated estates). Innovations promoted by ecclesiastical lords helped stabilize ecclesiastical income (by making rent collection easier), especially when taxes were rising in the early fourteenth century. Land acquisition and consolidation helped make the management of certain estates and properties more efficient, and they helped sustain the income of families closely associated with ecclesiastical offices. The overall consequence of such consolidation is that it offered a source of economic stability during a period of dramatic political and social change. Among the most active institutions in this regard were the bishopric and the cathedral chapter. The largest purchase of land occurred in 1301, when the bishopric paid 3,871 gold florins in three installments for a consolidated holding with houses (*podere cum domibus*) in the parish of Santa Maria di Padule in the Valdarno near Sesto. At Pievevecchia, where the bishopric already held concentrated holdings, Bishop Antonio degli Orsi bought a house (*domus*) in 1319 for seventy-five lire and another property (*casolare*) for twenty-five lire.<sup>127</sup>

The cathedral chapter and rural churches were also engaged in this process of purchase and consolidation. The former was particularly involved in the purchase of urban houses.<sup>128</sup> Individual canons were very active in the urban real estate market. In 1311 the cathedral canon, Stefano de Broy, for example, leased out a shop (*apotheca*) of the cathedral chapter in 1311 for eight lire. In 1322, the cathedral chapter gave San Lorenzo permission to build a new oratory for Saint Barnabas in its parish. To generate income to fund the project, the chapter sold land to Stefano de Broy, the cathedral canon with numerous holdings in the center city. The parcel San Lorenzo sold him for forty-four florins was adjacent to property already owned by the canon on two sides.<sup>129</sup> In 1327 we find him again buying a house, this time on the Via

Guelfa for the price of fifty-eight lire, five soldi.<sup>130</sup> Rural churchmen were also consolidating their holdings. In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the *pieve* of Impruneta and the abbey of Passignano were trying to bring together dispersed holdings into compact estates (*poderi*) through property exchanges (*permutationes*) and purchases. For both types of transactions they needed a license from the bishop or some other recognized higher ecclesiastical authority, permission which they always seem to have received.<sup>131</sup>

## The Cost of Estate Management

The costs of maintaining and managing the staff and estates of the major ecclesiastical institutions of the city were substantial. Many residents of the city and *contado* benefited from the direct and indirect effects of this kind of spending, and several hundred people were probably employed by the wealthiest of these institutions in the two dioceses. The largest ecclesiastical household was that of the bishop, which, by 1315, had become quite complex. In that year, Bishop Antonio degli Orsi supported in his entourage (*familiaries et gestores negotiorum*) at least thirty-five people: two vicars, eight *cappellani* (beneficed priors and rectors and one friar), four notaries, ten household servants (*domicelli*), and eleven others (including a cook and a baker).<sup>132</sup> He had to pay the *podestà* of his territories, the *castaldioni* (stewards) and their staffs who set out every year to collect grain rents, the travel expenses and fees for the lawyers who pleaded his cases in secular and papal courts, and the procurators or syndics who handled official business such as buying, selling, and leasing.<sup>133</sup> The *castaldionus* of Padule, for example, Cerbio di Segna dei Ripoli da Monte di Croce, was paid twenty-four lire.<sup>134</sup> Aside from annual salaries, the bishopric also paid the expenses of its procurators while they were doing their job. Legal advocates who appeared before secular authorities on behalf of the bishopric, such as Tino di Vermiglio da Castelfiorentino, received payments for their services. Tino received eight florins for his work in civil courts.<sup>135</sup> The costs of new construction were consistently a challenge: a new loggia at Padule, a shop at San Casciano, and a new granary at Capalle in the Arno Valley. Some of those structures were built with private funds. In the summer of 1295, for instance, just prior to his departure from Florence, Bishop Andrea Mozzi certified that he had constructed his new palace adjacent to the monastery of San Miniato al Monte (see [Figure 7](#)) with his own private funds, and not with the income of the bishopric (“de suis bonis patrimonialibus et non de bonis Episcopatus Florentine”). It is probable that the future costs of upkeep, however, came from the episcopal treasury.<sup>136</sup>

We can get a sense of the complexities of overseeing major ecclesiastical estates by returning to Ser Bindo’s excursion south of Florence into the Pesa Valley. The expenses of Ser Bindo’s twenty-four-day journey to collect

episcopal rents at Capalle are indicative of the challenging costs facing a major ecclesiastical landlord. In 1327, for example, Ser Bindo sent three *staia* of grain to the mill to feed himself and his servants while working at Capalle.<sup>137</sup> His animals required one *moggio* of barley for the twenty-four days on the road. In late July of 1327 he and his assistants left Florence for San Casciano Val di Pesa, this time with only one mule and two asses. A certain Stefano replaced Bertello on the trip, but the same Massiotto accompanied Ser Bindo to the Pesa Valley. They spent twenty-four days collecting grain on this trip, and it cost the three of them two lire and ten soldi for food during that time. In the fall it was time to repair all the buildings and mills that needed attention, including the grain and fulling mills on the Sieve River.<sup>138</sup> In 1328 the cycle began again with another trip to Capalle in June. Fourteen people paid their rents that year. They seem to have sent most of the grain to Sant'Antonio di Montughi near Florence, where the bishopric had a large estate (*podere*), and where episcopal factors sold some of the grain.<sup>139</sup> A stable had to be repaired, and a new granary constructed.<sup>140</sup> At Décimo Ser Bindo collected over nine *moggia* from thirty-three persons and almost nine *moggia* from Fabbriaca. He arranged to have those amounts from San Casciano sent to the granary in the episcopal palace in Florence, at the rate of eight denari per *staio* for transport. It was slightly more expensive to send the eight *moggia* and fourteen *staia* from Fabbriaca to the episcopal palace (twelve denari). And, of course, there were always the communal taxes (*gabelle*) to be paid, which came to seventeen soldi and four denari per *moggio*. He also paid for the construction of a new shop in San Casciano (eighteen lire).<sup>141</sup> All of these expenses underscore for us the fact that the management of economic operations in the countryside did not come cheaply. A bishop like Francesco Silvestri had to depend on men like the able and trustworthy Ser Bindo da Calenzano to make it work.

Payments for food, household staff, and laborers made up the bulk of expenses for other large ecclesiastical institutions as well. For the convent of Santissima Annunziata, for example, the friars often had to purchase salt (a *staio* for fourteen soldi), candles, wine, eggs, and meat. It needed to pay the salaries of workers, support a nurse to help the sick, pay the *gabelle*, and cover transportation costs to bring wine to the convent (sixteen lire, four soldi), and do the laundry (thirteen soldi in 1319).<sup>142</sup> Eggs seemed to be a favorite food of the prior, normally purchased for him by the treasurer (*camerlingho*).<sup>143</sup> Food appears to have been a major expense, especially meat and eggs. Perhaps this was so because unlike other church lords, Santissima Annunziata was not receiving rent payments in kind to supply its alimentary needs. On its principal feast day, the Feast of the Assumption, the convent spent three lire, five soldi for food (especially meat).<sup>144</sup> Among its most important expenses were the biannual distributions (*indumenta*) to the friars, usually one florin every six months. The *camerlingho* made a least one payment in October or November. In 1322 thirty-four individuals received



these distributions. In 1326 the number was thirty-eight, but by 1330 the number had diminished to fourteen.<sup>145</sup> Was this decline in distributions the result of a rise in expenses relative to income, resulting in particular from the increase in levies imposed on the friary? How much of its income did the convent have to pay to meet those expenses? In July 1327 its reported income was 59 lire, 7 soldi, 9 denari, and the *gabelle* (indirect taxes) it was paying amounted to 4 lire, 15 soldi, 8 denari.<sup>146</sup> This represented about 8 percent of its income. In July 1328 its income had risen to 86 *lire*, 11 *soldi*, and the *gabelle* it owed amounted to about 12 lire (or 14 percent of its total income for that month). In a single year, there had been a 6 percent increase in the percentage of its income that went to indirect taxes.<sup>147</sup> There was not only the increasing *gabelle* to handle that year, but there was also an urban levy imposed on the clergy and a grain shortage, which drove up the price of wheat.

## The Construction and Embellishment of Churches

For the most part, the construction of the major ecclesiastical structures of the city—Santa Maria Novella (after 1279), Santa Croce (1294/5), Santa Maria del Carmine (after 1268), and the cathedral (1296)—were projects paid for by the commune, the clergy, and by individual Florentines. These structures were probably the most visible manifestations of the economic activities of Florentine ecclesiastical institutions on the development and embellishment of the commune before 1330. Urban authorities provided annual subsidies for the construction of the first two buildings, which were under the direction of the two orders of mendicant friars. One common method to finance the construction of churches was to issue indulgences by the bishop to encourage contributions and offerings. In some cases, the papacy authorized indulgences as well. In 1286 Bishop Jacopo da Perugia granted a forty-day indulgence to anyone who contributed money toward the construction of Santa Maria Novella, begun seven years earlier. Sixteen years later Bishop Lottieri della Tosa issued a forty-day indulgence to those who donated funds to complete the hospital of Santa Maria a Mercatale in the Val di Pesa and to support the friars there (“ad perfectionem operis hospitalis Sancte Marie a Mercatale” and “ad sub-stentationem predictorum fratrum”).<sup>148</sup> Santa Maria del Carmine had several sources of funding: communal subsidies (the *podestà* donated land in 1301 and the customs office that handled *gabelle* provided a subsidy in 1300), testamentary legacies by individuals, and usury fines provided by the papal legate in 1306.<sup>149</sup>

Who financed the new cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore and the friaries of Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella? The sources and methods of funding were several and complex. Let us first look at the cathedral project. The process of construction of the new cathedral proceeded in fits and starts, but throughout the period between 1294 and 1331 (between its inception and the

assignment of the project to the wool guild, the Arte della Lana) the endeavor was the result of a partnership between four key Guelf allies: the commune, the bishoprics of Florence and Fiesole, the guilds, and the papacy. In 1285 the commune first made money available for the restoration of Santa Reparata. In September of 1294, a time considered by Villani to be a tranquil one in the history of his city (*assai tranquillo*), the *podestà*, the captain of the people, the papal cardinal legate, and the priors (among other civic leaders) agreed to rename the cathedral of Santa Reparata after the Virgin Mary, Santa Maria del Fiore. They set out to build a new structure that reflected the political and economic status of their commune.

Under the direction of the architect and sculptor Arnolfo di Cambio (d. 1302), the cathedral project drew on a number of complex sources of funding. Between 1293 and 1296 the commune was providing a series of subsidies, including the contribution in 1295 of four hundred lire every two months for a year. Periodically, the bishop and the pope (often through his delegate) issued indulgences to those who contributed. Nevertheless, the first indication we have that the bishop and other parties recognized the need to create a dependable and well-organized source of funding occurred in 1296. In that year Pope Boniface VIII stipulated that the bishop could direct three thousand florins of usury restitutions (registered in testaments) toward the cathedral project. In the same year (1296) each person in the diocese who drew up a testament was required to set aside a modest legacy for the Opera del Duomo (which was at that time in charge of constructing Santa Maria del Fiore). This usually amounted to between two and ten soldi. In both 1297 and 1300 the Council of the Hundred opted to pay four denari out of each lira spent by the communal treasury and derived from funds collected from the *gabelle* (up to eight thousand lire in both years). Furthermore, the commune imposed a head tax: residents with certain amounts of property were to pay two soldi into the cathedral fund. In addition to the funds mentioned above, in 1299 the bishop of Fiesole forced his clergy to contribute a subsidy to the cathedral. Nineteen years later, in August of 1318, following a period when military expenses and factional conflicts had periodically halted most progress on the project since 1301, the commune and the bishopric of Florence resumed their sponsorship of the work. Citing a deficiency of funds, the bishop and cathedral chapter imposed a special subsidy on the regular and secular clergy (*certa pecunie quantitas persolvatur*). The commune levied another subsidy of four denari on every lira paid out of the Florentine treasury. A year later, in 1319, the magistrates and councils of the city directed that a third of all the communal share of income from the expropriated property of heretics go to the construction of the cathedral (“*expendendam et convertendam in fabricam ecclesie Beate Reparate*”). By 1331 the commune had entrusted the construction of the cathedral, which was resuming after another long interval following the war with Lucca and the dearth of 1328–29, to the guild of the wool merchants (the Arte della Lana). The guild collected significant amounts

of funds by placing small collection boxes (*cassette*) in each of its shops and warehouses. The excavation of the grave of Saint Zenobius beneath the altar served to inspire a new round of donations to the project and marked a new phase in the construction of the principal symbol of the prominence of the Guelf commune: the cathedral.<sup>150</sup>

The sources of funding for the friaries were equally complex; they resembled the methods used to support the cathedral project in their scope and variety. Collaborating together were the commune, members of the clergy, the bishopric, and the papacy. Regarding Santa Croce in particular, the papal legate, Matteo Aquasparta, issued a one-hundred-day indulgence in January of 1297 to all those who were willing to contribute to the construction of the new friary. Also supporting the rebuilding program (which began in 1294/5) were testamentary legacies by individuals and a communal subsidy. The commune also pledged a subsidy of twelve hundred lire in six bimonthly payments. For much of the thirteenth century, a third of all the proceeds from the sale of the property of heretics normally went to the commune. Originally designated to maintain the cost of the new walls of the city, these monies began in 1324 to be earmarked for the rebuilding of Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce. By 1324 two-thirds of these funds were going to the construction of Santa Croce and one-third to Santa Maria Novella.<sup>151</sup>

The patronage of banking and commercial families who had benefited the most from Florentine expansion was central to the development of the friaries. The best examples of such involvement were of course the decoration of the Bardi (circa 1320) and Peruzzi (mid-1320s) chapels in Santa Croce. They were decorated with frescoes by some of the most famous artists of the day, including Giotto. Ridolfo dei Bardi, the son of Bartolo dei Bardi and the brother of Federico dei Bardi, was responsible for the creation of the Bardi Chapel in Santa Croce (the Cappella di San Francesco), frescoed by Giotto. He also endowed several other chapels in the friary, including those dedicated to Saint Louis of Toulouse, Saint Sylvester and the Confessors, and Saint Lawrence and the Martyrs. Most likely, Ridolfo paid for the altar, the frescoes, and all the equipment necessary for the celebration of the mass and recitation of the hours of the liturgy. Scholars have dated the Bardi Chapel variously, from 1310–16 to 1315–20. The Peruzzi Chapel in Santa Croce, funded partly in a testament by Donato d'Arnoldo Peruzzi in 1292, and the Velluti Chapel of San Michèle, date from either just before 1316 or between the years 1305 and 1310.<sup>152</sup>

Regarding the purchase of art objects and the decoration of churches, testaments commonly included legacies specifically designated to pay for specific painted images and to embellish churches. In these matters, the clergy often served as intermediaries, contracting the laborers and artists and paying them with funds provided by the laity.<sup>153</sup> One of the best known paintings paid for by an ecclesiastical entity, for which a contract still exists, was the image of the Virgin Mary commissioned by the confraternity at Santa Maria

Novella. In 1285 the rectors of the confraternity of the Virgin Mary at Santa Maria Novella paid 150 lire to Duccio Buoninsegna for the painting of the Madonna that now rests in the Uffizzi Gallery (see [Figure 6](#)). Originally, it was placed in the second chapel of the right transept, the chapel assigned to the Società Maggiore di Santa Maria.<sup>154</sup> This was very much a unique purchase, and it is the earliest surviving contract we have for a work of art. Most expenses of confraternities, however, were simple though important to the spiritual life of the institutions. The purchase of candles was the overriding concern of most confraternity rectors.

## Ecclesiastical Communities as Debtors

The borrowing of money by ecclesiastical communities was common, though not particularly widespread. Ecclesiastical institutions borrowed to meet certain extraordinary expenses such as legal costs, taxes, special purchases, the repayment of other debts, and the upkeep and refurbishing of buildings. The costs of pursuing a legal case in church courts (either in Rome before the papal consistory or before papal judges delegate) were expensive, especially if the case was tried in Rome. At Rome there were expenses for food and lodging of one's witnesses, legal advisers, and oneself, there were legal fees required at each stage of the process, and there was always the cost of pen and paper. They also borrowed, as the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova apparently did in 1296, to be able to expand.<sup>155</sup> Not all institutions were so lucky. Many were in dire financial difficulties, and borrowing helped them meet their payments. In 1301 the monastery of Buonsollazzo needed to lease some of its endowment, a *podere* with a house and six *staiora*, to its creditors (two Florentines) to pay off its debts. Sixteen years later the nuns of San Matteo di Arcetri asked permission of the bishop to take out a forty-gold-florin loan to help them recover and maintain their properties and rights. These were probably the same properties that had been the subject of a dispute with Santa Margarita in Montici ("occasione quorundam poderum bonorum terrarum et possessionum").<sup>156</sup>

Debt did not then nor does it now necessarily imply financial difficulty on the part of the debtor. During a period of economic expansion, it should not surprise anyone that churchmen and churchwomen had to turn periodically to the credit market for assistance. In the thirteenth century, creditors were sometimes local merchants, like the wine merchant (*vinattiere*) who loaned money to San Lorenzo so it could pay some of its taxes. By the fourteenth century the larger institutions were turning to the well-known banking houses. For example, Santa Maria Impruneta had to borrow money from the Acciaiuoli to wage the legal battle against Federico dei Bardi in the papal courts after 1322.<sup>157</sup> The cathedral chapter's earliest documented loan dated from 1279, contracted to finance the purchase of a house. There is also evidence of its having borrowed money from the middle of the thirteenth

century, perhaps to pay its share of the *libra* in 1254.<sup>158</sup> To pay taxes and press their suits against other parties in Rome, the canons needed to borrow money. After 1275 the chapter was spending sums in Rome pursuing its case against the prelate of Fiesole to recover the grain it claimed the prelate owed it, and in 1284 the canons had to borrow from the Albizzi to pursue a case against the rector of Santa Margarita. In both cases, the canons would expect their legal expenses to be repaid at the conclusion of the case, if they were successful.<sup>159</sup> Loans were needed by several ecclesiastical institutions to pay the episcopal consecration levy imposed on all clergy, especially after 1305, when an episcopal constitution required it. In 1309, for example, San Pier Maggiore had to ask the vicar of the bishop for permission to borrow thirty florins to help it pay its share of this two-thousand-florin episcopal subsidy.<sup>160</sup>

San Lorenzo regularly borrowed money. Special taxes imposed on it by the papacy, the commune, and the bishopric placed strains on the chapter in the middle of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, but its extensive assets never seemed to place it at financial risk when it contracted loans. In 1250 the chapter of San Lorenzo borrowed forty-seven lire from Falconiero di Alpero, pawning its land near the Mugnone, and in 1260 San Lorenzo borrowed forty-five lire to pay the communal *estimo*. San Lorenzo apparently had a difficult time making the payments. In 1262 and 1264 the court of the *podestà* of Florence fined it and sequestered its property for not having paid these loans.<sup>161</sup> Certain improvements in the church of San Lorenzo itself had to be done in the early fourteenth century, and they were expensive. For example, in 1300 the prior borrowed one hundred florins to build a sacristy.<sup>162</sup> In 1302, he borrowed three hundred lire not only to pay the papal tenth and the episcopal subsidy, but he also needed the loan to improve the sacristy and repair a storeroom (*celia*).<sup>163</sup>

## Poor Relief

Ecclesiastical institutions expended significant amounts of money to provide relief to the poor in the communities of which they were a part, and their roles as distributors of charity during the grain shortages of 1328 and 1329 helped preserve social peace at a time when there was a significant chance for social instability. Many of these disbursements throughout the early fourteenth century came from ill-gotten gains, and they served not only to take care of the least fortunate members of Florentine society, but also to help those suffering from the consequences of industrialization (poverty, underemployment, and unemployment). In June of 1306 San Lorenzo distributed about one lira on two separate Mondays to the poor. Many of these disbursements were from postmortem distributions that followed testamentary stipulations.<sup>164</sup> Local priests often served as the executors of several testaments, which often involved the distribution of poor relief and charitable

legacies.<sup>165</sup>

Poor relief was a particular concern of the confraternities.<sup>166</sup> Orsanmichele responded creatively to the demands stemming from the human tragedy of the grain shortages between 1328 and 1330, as it had apparently done before, between 1321 and 1323. Relief to the poor apparently increased in 1329. To deal with the situation, in June the commune stipulated that a third of the confiscated property of a condemned criminal was to go to the confraternity, with two-thirds going to the city. Furthermore, in October of 1329 the commune designated Orsanmichele as the primary distributor of the two thousand lire annual subsidy by the city to the poor. Both measures, as John Henderson has argued, “were a public recognition of the major role of the company in the relief of poverty.”<sup>167</sup> These and other initiatives, according to the two contemporary observers, Giovanni Villani and Domenico Lenzi, provided enough food for all and helped sustain the social order in the midst of tremendous suffering.<sup>168</sup>

The friars and their associated penitential communities were also very active in providing charitable poor relief. The *pinzochera* Puccia left funds in her testament in 1310 for the poor, and the Franciscans were responsible for distributing it.<sup>169</sup> Friar Taddeo of Santa Croce was an executor of many of these kinds of testaments, empowered to distribute poor relief as he wished. Friar Illuminato of Santa Croce also served as a frequent executor, charged with the responsibility of distributing legacies to the poor. Occasionally these cash distributions could be very large, such as the one-thousand-lire legacy left to Friar Andrea. However, most legacies were for much smaller sums (twenty to one hundred lire). As with Orsanmichele, there is no clear data about the total amounts of bequests given to the friars for the purpose of charity, nor do we know exactly how much they actually distributed.<sup>170</sup>

Like the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the bishopric were also responsible for the charitable distribution of moneys that derived from ill-gotten gains. Friar Angelo dei Salimbeni da Siena, for example, was one of the executors of the testament of Corso di Piero (parish of Santa Maria Novella). He apportioned fifty lire to the poor in the urban parishes of San Piero Scheraggio, San Remigio, San Jacopo tra’ Fossi, and Sant’Apollinare.<sup>171</sup> Santa Maria Novella received numerous legacies for the poor as well, and they could be quite large. In 1319, for example, it received one hundred gold florins from the testament of the mother of Friar Gerónimo dei Alberti (OP). In some situations these bequests took the form of land grants. In 1316 the prior of the Dominicans leased property at Campi for 9.5 *staia*, and the lease stipulated that the proceeds were to go to the poor.<sup>172</sup>

The bishops were also involved, though in a much more limited manner, in the distribution of charity. There are only a few scattered documented instances when members of the laity called upon the bishop, such as in 1289, 1299, and 1318, to distribute ill-gotten gains to the poor. One citizen requested that the bishop and his vicar distribute fifty lire of usuriously gained

money to the poor in 1299, and in 1289 Count Alberto di Alessandro da Mangona charged the bishops of Pistoia and Florence with the responsibility of distributing two thousand lire of his ill-gotten gains. In 1318 the executor of the estate of Consiglio dei Circuli transferred fifty lire to the bishop on behalf of the poor (“pro dicto Episcopo vice et nomine pauperum dictas XXV”).<sup>173</sup> Influenced by the jurisprudential tradition that held that the bishop should serve as a “father” to the poor as well as by the desire to tap into the growing amounts of usury restitutions to unspecified people (*indistincte*), the Florentine synodal constitution in 1327 required executors of last wills and testaments to pay the bishop directly one-third of all legacies designated for unspecified recipients and pious causes (“indistincte ad pias causas seu pro anima”). The commune vigorously opposed this measure in the law courts, and by 1330 the bishop had to drop this stipulation.<sup>174</sup>

## Taxes

As major beneficiaries of the economic expansion of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, the principal ecclesiastical institutions naturally became attractive sources of revenue for the communal treasury and the papacy, primarily to meet their military expenses. As such, albeit often reluctantly, ecclesiastical institutions contributed to the economic transformation of Florence between 1250 and 1330 by subsidizing the military costs of a commune determined to protect its access to vital road arteries, food resources (grain), water (for industry), supplies of labor, and sources of revenue. Levies paid by churchmen and churchwomen not only supported the military expenses of the commune, but they also subsidized the construction of the cathedral and various political and military needs of the papal curia. There were several types of taxes paid by ecclesiastical communities in the eighty years between 1250 and 1330. They were made necessary by the growing demands of three expanding bureaucracies: the commune, the bishopric, and the papacy. These were the occasional but onerous communal taxes and subsidies, the papal tenth, and the unpredictable levies imposed by papal legates in the early fourteenth century. Furthermore, the lower secular and regular clergy had to pay the subsidy imposed by the bishop to cover the consecration costs of new bishops (created in 1288 and fixed in 1305). As a proportion of income, the lower ranks of the secular clergy were bearing the greatest burden. Some members of the regular clergy also had to convey a tax to their provincial chapters. For example, the friars of Santa Maria del Carmine were required to transfer money in the form of an annual tax to subsidize the work of their prior general (for Tuscany) and to support their school of theology (*studium generale*).<sup>175</sup>

Let us look at each of these various classifications of taxes, focusing first on those imposed on the church by the commune and by the papacy. The Third and Fourth Lateran Councils (1179 and 1215) had forbidden the laity



from imposing taxes on the clergy, except in situations of dire emergency and unless there was clerical consent. Nevertheless, during the Primo Popolo (1250–60), direct communal taxation on ecclesiastical institutions by way of the *libra* was widespread. It continued a tradition that had apparently been common during the previous Ghibelline regime.<sup>176</sup> Between 1250 and 1260, the bishopric, the cathedral chapter, the collegiate church of San Lorenzo, and several monasteries (Coltibuono, Luco, Mantignano, Rosano, and Passignano) were all paying this direct tax on property, which required some of them to borrow or sell assets.<sup>177</sup> In 1254 the cathedral chapter paid a tax to the city,<sup>178</sup> and in the middle of the thirteenth century (1260) the *libra* of the collegiate church of San Lorenzo was 4,500 lire. In 1255 all exempt and nonexempt churches and monasteries in the diocese were supposed to pay the direct tax on property to the commune.<sup>179</sup> In 1257, alarmed at the taxation of churches and monasteries within the diocese, the papacy sent two legates to the city to protest this apparent violation of ecclesiastical liberty and to resist the imposition of communal jurisdiction over the hospitals in the two dioceses of Florence and Fiesole.<sup>180</sup> Papal intervention, however, was not altogether based on principle. The curia itself was levying taxes on the Florentine and Fiesolean churches, and it resented the usurpation of its tax base. In 1255, for example, the bishoprics of Florence and Fiesole (churches and monasteries) owed the papacy 5,600 lire as a papal subsidy (“pro debita ... in subsidio domini papae”).<sup>181</sup>

Direct taxation of churches by way of the *libra* continued after the fall of the Primo Popolo in 1260. During the Ghibelline *interregnum* (1260–66), the commune continued to levy direct taxes (the *libra*) on ecclesiastical institutions. For example, San Lorenzo had to borrow forty-five lire from Cambio di Giambene da Valla (San Michèle Visdomini) to pay the communal tax in March of 1260.<sup>182</sup> In June of 1261 communal officials (“recollectores libre ecclesiarum civitatis et communitatis Florentine”) collected three thousand lire from the *pieve* of Signa and four subordinate churches (*cappellae*). The collection of these monies had apparently caused a rift between Signa and the nearby collegiate church of San Martino di Gangalandi, as they had disagreed about which one would have to pay its tax with the four parishes. At the end of the century (1299), ecclesiastical communities within the *pieve* of San Giovanni were still paying the *libra*, at the rate of five soldi for each one hundred soldi of assessed value.<sup>183</sup> When the commune ended the imposition of the *libra* in the city after 1315, urban ecclesiastical institutions received relief from this direct tax, but their indirect taxes (*gabelle*) were increasing.

In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, ecclesiastical communities in Italy such as those in the dioceses of Florence and Fiesole were responsible for paying another tax, this one to the papacy: the papal tenth, a crusading tax that was essentially a levy on income. It was set at a tenth in 1228 during the campaigns against the emperor Frederick II. For the

cathedral chapter, the papal tenth was levied on the income of the chapter and its thirteen prebends. In 1275 it apparently subsidized papal interests in the Holy Land and was collected by Trebaldo (archpresbyter of the cathedral chapter) and Tebaldo (rector of San Remigio). Santa Felicita paid fifty lire, four soldi as its share of the tithe in 1297, collected on behalf of the papacy by the prior of San Piero Scheraggio and the abbot of Santa Trinita. Payment by San Lorenzo is especially well documented. In the 1302–3 collection, San Lorenzo paid about forty-one lire for its share of the papal tenth. Failure or refusal to pay this tax could result in a papal excommunication, as apparently happened to the hospital of Sant'Eusebio in Florence in 1297.<sup>184</sup>

In the second half of the thirteenth century the commune was finding it needed to rely increasingly on borrowing, if it was to meet its expenses. First mentioned in Florence in 1258 and continuing well into the next century, voluntary loans were rarely made by ecclesiastical institutions in Florence. This was in contrast to nearby Siena, where voluntary loans began in earnest in 1287 and deeply involved ecclesiastical communities, especially in the early fourteenth century. Throughout the period covered by this study voluntary loans were never as important in Florence as they were at Siena and Lucca. The expanding wealth of Florence made indirect taxation (the *gabelle*) by 1300 a far more promising source of revenue, and the overall economic strength of the Florentine economy made forced loans (*prestaze*)—which required deficit financing—more feasible than in other communes such as Lucca.

Nevertheless, there are a few isolated examples of voluntary loans advanced by religious communities to the commune. For example, in 1282 the principal magistrates of the commune asked for a voluntary loan from the Florentine cathedral chapter and clergy and from the bishop of Fiesole to station troops on the Apennine frontier in Romagna (*in partibus Romandiole*). The ostensible reason was to serve the interests of the church (*in servitio Ecclesie*). Voluntary loans continued to be made to the commune of Florence by numerous groups and individuals during times of military challenges (as in 1327 and 1328), but there is no evidence that ecclesiastical communities were involved. There is evidence that the direct property tax, the *libra*, continued to be assessed on some ecclesiastical institutions. In 1330, for example, the parish of the *pieve* of Impruneta paid 22 lire, 4 soldi, 8 denari of tax, and the parish of Quintole was also assessed a certain tax relative to an assessment (*estimo*) of its property.<sup>185</sup>

Most of the revenue generated by religious communities and conveyed to the commune, however, came not from voluntary or compulsory loans or the *libra*; they came from the income deriving from indirect taxes (the *gabelle*) and the infrequent but heavy special subsidies (*imposte*, *donativi*) imposed on them. Some of these special imposts came with papal consent, especially when their function was to promote the strategic and military interests of pope's key Guelf ally, Florence. The same partnership that facilitated the

construction of the new cathedral—the symbol of the divine mission of the Guelf commune—often but not always supported ecclesiastical subsidization of the military needs of the city. The papal bull *Clericis laicos*, issued by Pope Boniface VIII in 1296 with the French and English monarchs in mind, had stipulated that churchmen could only be taxed when there was papal consent. Violators were to be excommunicated. “All history shows clearly the enmity of the laity toward the clergy,” the opening sentence of the bull declares. Like Edward I (1272–1307), the Florentines wanted to tap into ecclesiastical wealth to fund their military budgets. It was not war against the French, Welsh, and Scots that necessitated clerical taxation for the Florentines; it was war against the Pisans and Lucchese.<sup>186</sup>

In the fourteenth century, the burden of taxation on ecclesiastical communities escalated in direct proportion to the military and defensive needs of the commune and the financial requirements of the new cathedral. Clerical protests were not uncommon. In 1299, when the clergy of Fiesole was forced by its bishop to subsidize Santa Maria del Fiore, clergy from at least three parishes appealed to the papal curia for relief. In 1307 the commune tried to impose a hefty subsidy on the clergy to help with its military expenses against Arezzo and the White Florentine exiles. The papal cardinal legate, Napoleone Orsini, supported the Aretines at the time. Resisting the imposition of this impost by the commune, perhaps in support of the policies of the cardinal legate against those of Florence, the monks of the Badia refused to pay. They closed the door of their abbey to the collector and sounded the alarm in their bell tower (*campanile*). The people of Florence apparently responded by sacking and burning the abbey, and the rulers of the city had half the bell tower toppled. The commune responded, apparently, by reducing the impost by one-half. Eleven years later another imposition of a subsidy on the clergy occurred uneventfully. In 1318 the bishop and cathedral chapter agreed with the Signoria, following a period of inactivity regarding the construction of the cathedral, to impose a subsidy on the clergy of the diocese to speed along its construction.<sup>187</sup>

The major fiscal burden on the clergy was associated with the construction of the new circle of walls (see [Figure 9](#)), the new cathedral, and the military expenses connected with the wars against Pisa (1315) and against Castruccio Castracane (1325). In 1323, the city imposed a new impost of 20,000 florins on the clergy, designed specifically to subsidize the construction of the new walls. The pope had already granted his consent for a moderate subsidy, to be paid by the clergy. However, opposition from the Florentine clergy was fierce, and the pope refused to agree to the collection of the 20,000-florin subsidy, a sum that he claimed in a letter to several bishops was immoderate. He directed the clergy either to pay half of the impost (10,000 florins) or to finance the construction of 36,000 square *braccia* of walls. The parties apparently settled for the first option, which had actually already been paid.



Figure 9. The walls of Florence, constructed 1284–1333. G. Dameron.

By 1326 the burden of taxation on the clergy was sufficient to prompt the collective organization of the clergy, the *clerus Florentinus*, to send its procurator Duccio to the episcopal vicar Enrico di Sant’Elpidio. The reason was to complain about the level of *gabelle* shouldered by the clergy, which was finding it increasingly difficult to administer the sacraments. In 1328, the commune again asked the pope for his support for another special impost to help pay for the construction of the wall, to be levied on the clergy to help pay for the defense of Florence against Castruccio Castracane. The pope agreed, and the commune proceeded to collect 10,000 florins. Again acting through the *clerus Florentinus*, the clergy asked the episcopal vicar to deliberate over this communal subsidy and to allow a member of the clergy to assist him to make sure it was fairly distributed. Acting as a body, in the absence of the bishop, the clergy issued an interdict against the city. It was revoked in 1329, imposed again, and finally canceled by the bishop in 1329. Clerical resistance to the tax had come, according to Villani, from an “ungrateful clergy” (“de la quale imposta il detta chericato ingrato e sconoscente non volea pagare”), which imposed an interdiction on the commune. When the bishop revoked the interdict, however, he claimed that the impost defended the church as well as the commune from a common enemy. As in 1323, a solution was found where ultimately the clergy paid only half of the 10,000-florin impost that it was supposed to pay.<sup>188</sup>

What was the actual percentage of the communal fisc or treasury that came from ecclesiastical revenue? The lack of systematic documentation makes any estimate guesswork. It seems reasonable, however, to hypothesize that between 10 percent and 20 percent of all communal revenue derived in

some fashion from ecclesiastical sources, be they *gabelle* on grain contracts, and wine, special imposts or subsidies, or contributions made by individual churchmen. We know that the ecclesiastical population was about 2.5 percent to 3 percent of the total number of people living in the two dioceses of Florence and Fiesole. Yet, because this small percentage controlled a disproportionate amount of land (perhaps a quarter to a third of all landed property) and marketed significant quantities of grain and wine, it seems reasonable to propose that *gabelle* paid by ecclesiastical institutions constituted at least 10 percent of all *gabella* payments into the treasury. In years when the commune levied special subsidies on the church, as it did in 1307, 1318, 1323, and 1328, ecclesiastical institutions contributed significantly more to the communal fisc.

In 1316, a one-time contribution to the communal purse by the bishop provided about 4 percent of the annual income of the treasury. That year, one of war hysteria following the defeat of Florence by Pisa at Montecatini, the total income of the treasury was 370,000 lire. The bishop, Antonio degli Orsi, deposited with the commune 5,000 gold florins to support the military expenses of the commune (“propter timorés illorum temporum ratione guerre cum consensu sui Capituli”).<sup>189</sup> This money was supposed to go to the papacy as part of the papal tenth, raised by Bishop Antonio degli Orsi as required by the Council of Vienne (1311).<sup>190</sup> It came from the sum of 8,251 florins that he had accumulated in his capacity as collector of the papal tenth. Essentially, the bishop of Florence had taxed the clergy of the diocese on behalf of the papacy, but he had used the money to subsidize the military expenses of the commune. And he did so with the consent of his cathedral chapter. On the basis of a rough estimate, it appears that Bishop Antonio—through this one deposit—might have provided the commune with about 4 percent of the amount of income the priorate expected to receive in a year.<sup>191</sup> When we add this amount to what the clergy was already providing the commune, in the form of *gabelle* payments and special subsidies, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that in any normal year at least 10 percent to 20 percent of the communal fisc derived from ecclesiastical sources at any one time. Of course, this is basically informed guesswork, and precise figures will have to await more study.

Added to the papal tenths and the special communal imposts, the clergy had to pay the special taxes imposed by the bishops of Florence and Fiesole to subsidize the costs of the installation and consecration of new bishops. In 1288 the matter first went before the papal courts.<sup>192</sup> In 1292 an accord between the bishop and the chapter was reached on this issue, and the bishop lifted the excommunication and interdict he had imposed on members of the chapter.<sup>193</sup> In 1305, in an episcopal constitution, Bishop Lottieri della Tosa declared that the clergy henceforth would pay a two-thousand-and-gold-florin subsidy for the ceremonial entry of new bishops into the city.<sup>194</sup>

Whereas the Florentine clergy protested taxation and imposed subsidies

with lawsuits, the clergy of Fiesole often took to the street, armed with staves. Bishop Angelo of Fiesole met such strong opposition after imposing a consecration tax on his diocese in 1298 that he had to use his bodyguard to bar the door of the cathedral to protect himself from irate clergy. He had the leader of the rebel group arrested. The clergy then attacked and broke down the door. The bishop escaped, but blood was shed as he fled. In another occasion, after hearing that the Badia Fiesolana was going to appeal to the papacy regarding certain impositions, the bishop physically assaulted the brothers with their procurator and ordered his bodyguard to attack their notary. Eventually, to avoid further bloodshed in the city, the papacy removed Bishop Angelo from the see of San Romolo (Fiesole) and sent him far away to southern Italy.<sup>195</sup>

Extraordinary levies imposed on the entire clergy by papal legates, whose authority superseded that of the bishop, were also especially irritating to the clergy. They grew in frequency in the early fourteenth century. In 1304 the papacy mandated that all clergy had to pay 140 florins to its legate (Niccoló da Prato, bishop of Ostia and Velletri) for the loss of two horses and a mule while residing in Florence (presumably the unintended victims of violence in the street during a period of civil disorder).<sup>196</sup> In 1306 the cardinal legate, Napoleone degli Orsini, slapped a 690-gold-florin impost on the bishopric and Florentine church to cover various unspecified expenses for himself and his household. It was to be imposed in equal parts on the bishopric, the cathedral chapter, and the clergy, and it was to be paid within thirty days. The syndic of the Calimala guild, who were the custodians of the Opera San Giovanni, were responsible for fourteen lire of that amount, and they vigorously protested before the vicar general of the bishop that they should not have to pay.<sup>197</sup> This is the same levy for which San Lorenzo had to devote a significant amount of its money (thirty lire, or 3 percent of its total income for the ten-month period between June 1306 and March 1307).<sup>198</sup> In 1313 the cathedral chapter was also chafing under the requirement to surrender to the bishop one thousand florins levied by the papal legate Arnaldo.<sup>199</sup>

## The Church and The Regional Economy

While ecclesiastical communities were subsidizing the military and defense needs of the commune, they were also contributing to the grain market. Unlike other major communes in Tuscany, such as Siena, Arezzo, and Lucca, Florence was not self-sufficient in wheat. It could only feed itself five months of the year. As a result, by the early fourteenth century much of its food supply had to be imported from southern Italy and Sicily, facilitated through its banking houses, the Angevin monarchy in Naples, and its connections with the papacy. Most of the grain grown in the countryside around Florence, including what was grown on the estates of the major church lords, was therefore destined for local consumption.<sup>200</sup> There is no way to know,



because we lack statistics, how much grain ecclesiastical estates provided the population. Since we estimate that ecclesiastical lords controlled at least 25 to 33 percent of all land, most of which was located in the grain-bearing valleys of the *contado*, we can suggest not unreasonably that at least ten per cent of all domestically grown grain came from ecclesiastical estates. In other words, though it is impossible to know for sure, it seems reasonable to speculate that ecclesiastical lords were producing about 6,860 *moggia* per year. For the years 1328–30 the need for grain was most acute, and ecclesiastical estates became even more important as sources of food for the city.<sup>201</sup>

Just as the bishopric and other elite institutions subsidized financially some of the military expenses of the commune, provided charity to the urban poor, and contributed to the grain market, members of the lower ranks of the secular clergy played major roles in the economic lives of their parishioners on the local level. Priests appear often in the sources as executors of wills, distributors of poor relief, and dispersers of ill-gotten gains. For example, in his 1320 testament, Naldo di Jacomi da Onda designated the rector of the local church of San Lorenzo di Corniolo as the executor or guarantor (*fideicommissarius*), charged with distributing his legacies to local churches and monasteries in the Mugello Valley north of the city.<sup>202</sup> But it is their economic relationship with their parishioners—who often came from the same social background as they did—that is most noteworthy here. It was protective, symbiotic, and cooperative. In many ways, the services they provided offered social and economic support for many of those who were being harmed or challenged by the economic changes that were transforming Florence, to the benefit of a few.

Economically, the local rector and archpriest provided essential services to the local population, helping to preserve rural communities precisely as other economic forces were contributing to their dissolution. The clergy served as witnesses in the most important economic transactions in their villages, and they charged reasonable and modest rents from the same people to whom they were administering the sacraments. For example, in 1307 at the church of San Martino in the Mugello Valley at Vespignano, two local priests, Guido and Rodolfo, served as witnesses as the commune of Vespignano charged Tanto di Buono with the responsibility of contracting a loan for the commune for 150 lire.<sup>203</sup> At Vespignano, also in the Mugello, local presbyters in 1307 acted as witnesses in important local transactions. These included loan contracts, elections of magistrates, and the formalization of peace pacts.<sup>204</sup> Charging modest rents was a form of credit advanced to the local tenant. In 1311, the archpriest of Brozzi leased two *staiora*, four *panora* of property bordering the church of the *pieve* for 1.5 *staia* per *staioro*. The lease indicated that if the leaseholder could not make payment, the archpriest could then charge what he wanted. Indeed, overall, compared to comparable leases in the same area made by lay lords, ecclesiastical landlords seem to have been charging lower rents than their lay counterparts.<sup>205</sup> In some cases, ecclesiastical landlords



seem to have been rather lax about requiring the prompt payment of rents, often allowing a renter a longer period of time to pay than what the terms stipulated in the lease.<sup>206</sup> At times it is difficult to know whether the nonpayment of rents or the late payments of dues was actually a failure on the part of the tenant or a form of credit provided by the landlord. It could have been both or either, depending on the situation. Indeed, we know that archpriests were occasionally very willing to lend cash to local residents.<sup>207</sup>

Local clergy occasionally supported local landowners not only by charging them low rents, but they also leased parcels that were sometimes contiguous to other holdings of their renters. This allowed the cultivator to work consolidated farms. We know for instance that in the Mugello at Ampinana one rector was once so concerned that his predecessor had virtually given away parish property by charging such a low rent that he demanded the renter's descendants end the agreement. The property in question bordered the other holdings of the renter.<sup>208</sup> In two other examples, in 1322 Gagliardo di Cenno da Corella and his wife were leasing a parcel from the rector of Santa Lucia di Casanova that bordered other property of his wife's on two sides. In 1327 in the Mugello a local rector leased for four *staia* a parcel for ten years to a local resident, and the property bordered the lands of the renter on two sides.<sup>209</sup> The parish of Sant'Andrea di Samprognana leased for ten years property that was contiguous on two sides to that of the renter.<sup>210</sup> The advantages to the tenant were several. Instead of having to walk from one parcel to another to do his or her work on the land, the tenant was able to farm a consolidated holding, composed of both his own as well as the leased parcels. Properties that were consolidated also made it much more difficult for unfriendly neighbors to expropriate them. If one paid a rent that was modest and was able easily to renew the lease, he or she then held the property in virtual perpetuity. However, on the negative side, from the point of view of a rector, a contiguous holding that carried a modest rent could effectively lead to the eventual loss or alienation of that parcel into the hands of the cultivator. This is why episcopal constitutions often required that rents be fair but not so low that they harmed the interests of the church.

Given the economic importance of the local parish priest to his community, any significant increase in the taxation could have a deleterious impact on the local economy, not to mention on the priest himself. Required to provide more money in the form of tax disbursements meant that parish priests had to choose between the welfare of their parishioners and the demands of the bishop, the commune, or the papacy (or all three). Whereas elite ecclesiastical institutions had various options at their disposal when taxes increased, the average parish church did not. For the wealthier institutions—the bishopric, cathedral chapter, collegiate church of San Lorenzo—investment in urban real estate could serve as a major hedge as the value of the lire continued to decline relative to the florin. For the local parishes, however, they had little alternative other than to squeeze their parishioners

more if they were to pay their taxes. Apparently, many parish priests chose not to do so. The circumstances of one particular legal case demonstrate why some local churchmen were reluctant to pressure their neighbors.

In 1327 Abbot Niccolò of Passignano opposed the appointment by a local papal delegate (Giovanni, cardinal deacon of San Teodoro) of Gottifredo di Rosso della Tosa as rector of the church of San Niccolò di Quercio in the *piviere* of Cavriglia, diocese of Fiesole in the Valdarno. This was a church in which the monastery of Passignano claimed it held patronage rights. However, in the collection of the papal tenth for 1302/3, the *Rationes decimarum* listed San Niccolò di Quercio as an exempt *ecclesia*, indicating that the papacy already considered it within its *collatio* (patronage network).<sup>211</sup> Niccolò, who was abbot of Passignano, took the case to the papal court. On behalf of the abbey and nineteen men from the nearby parish of San Lorenzo and the commune of San Giovanni Valdarno, the friar Migliore di Baldinotti filed an appeal before the papal delegate, our familiar man-about-town and bon vivant, the Florentine canon Stefano de Broy (also archpriest of Campoli at that time). The pope had also asked Guglielmo dei Frescobaldi, the treasurer of the cathedral chapter, to help with the case. The papacy placed the abbey and the men who were party to the suit under interdict. Acting for Gottifredo della Tosa was his procurator, Michele, the prior of the chapter of San Lorenzo.<sup>212</sup> This parish had few people in it, but it possessed substantial amounts of property.<sup>213</sup> For their involvement in a suit that challenged the appointment, the papal delegate had the nineteen men involved in the suit excommunicated. Among them was Cavolo Tendi. To prove its patronage rights to the church, the abbey produced for the court in the cloister of Santa Maria del Fiore (“in claustro ecclesie Florentine”) a series of documents that dated back to 1208. Among the documents presented as evidence that the church was within the *collatio* of the abbey were two leases of church property to this same Cavolo Tendi, dated 1316 and 1324.<sup>214</sup> Furthermore, another plaintiff (Laco Canti) in the case also owned property that was contiguous to lands held by the church of San Niccolò.<sup>215</sup> It seems reasonable to hypothesize that several men in the local community protected the patronage rights of Passignano precisely in order to guarantee their continued access to these parcels. After the abbey presented its documentary evidence (*instrumenta*), Gottifredo della Tosa renounced his claim.<sup>216</sup> Parishes like San Niccolò di Quercio were indeed deeply embedded in the social and economic life of their communities, not just in the spiritual lives of the parishioners. By seeking to promote a client in this zone of the Arno Valley, the papacy was tampering with the welfare of local residents. No wonder they supported the claims of a local abbey over those of a stranger from Florence.

While benefiting from the growing economy between 1250 and 1320, many wealthy ecclesiastical institutions appear to have been able to meet their expenses without having to resort to significant borrowing. After 1320, however, the economic and fiscal burdens on ecclesiastical institutions escalated significantly, especially those on the local parish. Let us look first at the period before 1320. Unlike modern corporations, churches and monasteries were not for-profit enterprises; they did not keep accurate records of gains and losses. Rather, for the most part, whether they were parish priests or episcopal syndics, most administrators of church property simply tried to meet their expenses. Ecclesiastical institutions for which we have surviving records seem to have been able to sustain expenses up to the third decade of the fourteenth century. For example, although it had debts, the cathedral chapter appears to have been able to shoulder its expenses. On the basis of the information provided us by the treasurer Giovanni Machiavelli, it appears that the chapter in 1302 was running a slight surplus (see [Table 8](#)).

The months with the highest income in 1302 (August, September, and October) are missing. For those months in 1301, however, the chapter received 340 lire, 40 soldi, 10 denari; 112 lire, 7 soldi, 4 denari; and 200 lire, 6 soldi, 8 denari, respectively. Unlike the cathedral chapter in 1302 and 1303, which was running a modest surplus, San Lorenzo had accumulated a small debt in 1306. For the ten-month period between June 1306 and March 1307, it took in 1,106 *lire* and 10 soldi in income and expended 1,109 lire, leaving a deficit of 2 lire, 10 soldi.<sup>217</sup>

TABLE 8. INCOME AND EXPENSES IN THE ACCOUNTS OF THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER, 1302–1303

| Month    | Income              | Expenses            | Balance              |
|----------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| March    | 121 lire, 15s., 5d. | 91 lire, 15s., 5d.  | 30 lire              |
| April    | 39 lire, 8s., 3d.   | 25 lire             | 14 lire, 8s., 3d.    |
| May      | 186 lire, 16s., 3d. | 152 lire, 6s., 2d.  | 34 lire, 10s., 1d.   |
| November | 213 lire, 12s. 9d.  | 84 lire, 18s., 10d. | 128 lire, 13s., 11d. |
| December | 129 lire, 5s., 9d.  | 91 lire, 12s., 7d.  | 37 lire, 13s., 2d.   |
| February | 123 lire, 13s., 7d. | 86 lire, 17s., 6d.  | 36 lire, 16s., 1d.   |

Sources: ACF *Entrata e Uscita del 1300*, fols. 20v–22v, 24r–27v.

Similarly, the condition of Santissima Annunziata seems also to have been running healthy balances in the early fourteenth century.<sup>218</sup> Income derived from several sources included mortuary income, testamentary bequests,<sup>219</sup> alms (*elemosine*)<sup>220</sup> donations for postmortem masses for the souls of loved ones, and rents. On the whole, between 1317 and 1330, with few exceptions, the friary ended the month with a slight surplus (see [Table 9](#)). In 1321 the notaries at Santissima Annunziata began balancing assets and liabilities, the first evidence of such accounting practices that exists in ecclesiastical records.

Regarding its financial health, Santissima Annunziata was apparently able to meet its financial obligations.

TABLE 9. SELECTED INCOME AND EXPENSES IN THE ACCOUNTS OF SANTISSIMA ANNUNZIATA, 1317–1329

| <i>Month</i>  | <i>Income</i>       | <i>Expenses</i>     | <i>Balance</i>                 |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| July 1317     | 81 lire, 7s.        | 61 lire, 14s., 4d.  | 19 lire, 12s., 8d.             |
| November 1319 | 43 lire, 7d.        | 20 lire, 19s., 10d. | 22 lire, 9d.                   |
| June 1321     | 40 lire, 3s., 10d.  | 40 lire, 3s., 10d.  | 0                              |
| November 1323 | 174 lire, 7s., 4d.  | 174 lire, 7s., 4d.  | 0                              |
| August 1325   | 275 lire, 11s., 9d. | 275 lire, 11s., 9d. | 0                              |
| November 1327 | 111 lire, 1s., 3d.  | 52 lire, 11s., 8d.  | 58 lire, 9s., 7d. <sup>a</sup> |
| June 1329     | 67 lire, 6s., 5d.   | 62 lire, 13s., 11d. | 4 lire, 12s., 6d.              |

Sources: For Santissima Annunziata, see ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 606 (*Giornale del Camarlingho*, 1317–20); 119, 608 (*Giornale del Camarlingho*, 1321–23); 119, 838 (*Entrata e Uscita dal Camarlingho*, 1323–); 119, 609 (*Giornale del Camarlingho*, 1324–26); 119, 681 (*Entrata e Uscita dal Camarlingho* (1326–30); 119, 1270 (*Repetorio e sunto di tutte le cartepecore originali*); Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:76–77.

<sup>a</sup> The surplus was rolled over into the next month's income.

The accounts of income and expenses that we possess for the end of the thirteenth century indicate that Passignano was also bringing in more than it was expending (see Table 10). For the years 1298, 1299, and 1300, the abbey had surpluses: 30 lire, 5 soldi, 8 denari; 25 lire, 10 soldi; 2 denari; 22 lire, 1 denari, respectively. Financially solvent, the monks were able to sustain a building program. This was a period in which the abbey was engaged in the construction of a terrace (*solario*) for the granary as well as new walls and houses.<sup>221</sup>

TABLE 10. INCOME AND EXPENSES IN THE ACCOUNTS OF PASSIGNANO, 1299–1300

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Income</i>         | <i>Expenses</i>     | <i>Balance</i>                  |
|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1299        | 1,133 lire, 10s., 2d. | 1,108 lire          | 25 lire, 10s., 2d. <sup>a</sup> |
| 1300        | 894 lire, 12s., 10d.  | 872 lire, 12s., 9d. | 22 lire, 1d. <sup>b</sup>       |

Sources: ASF Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179,11 (*Libro di Entrate, Uscita, 1297–1303*), fols. 3v–25v.

<sup>a</sup> In 1299 Pietro noted that the income included all its rents as well as the proceeds from the grain sold out of its *granario*. The expenses included the purchase of lands and the construction of new houses and walls (ASF Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179,11, *Libro di Entrate, Uscita, 1297–1303*, fol. 7r). In 1298 the fulling mill brought in 48 lire, 4s, 8d of income (21).

<sup>b</sup> In 1300 the income included money from the sale of grain (both Passignano and Florentine measure), as well as the proceeds from its fulling mill (*gualcheria*) (ASF Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 11, *Libro di Entrate, Uscita, 1297–1303*, fol. 12r).

In the third decade of the fourteenth century, however, the situation began to change. Financial burdens, even on the elite institutions of the Florentine church, were increasing. The most important causes of that increase was

taxation. Two factors which probably compounded the situation for ecclesiastical institutions were the period of drought and grain shortages between 1328 and 1330 and the continual decline of the value of the silver and copper currency (lire) relative to the gold florin. Delinquency in the payment of rents on episcopal estates became more frequent in that decade. Particularly hard hit by war and economic distress were the female convents, which occasionally found donors or patrons (including the bishop) to help them out in periods of difficulty.<sup>222</sup> Many wealthy lords, such as the abbey of Passignano and the *pieve* of Impruneta, began to sell some of their assets to meet loan obligations. For rural parishes like Impruneta, especially if they had entered the network of papal provisions, the financial burdens were great. According to David Herlihy, rental income at Impruneta rose continuously from the late thirteenth century until about 1340. Indeed, according to his calculations, rents had more than doubled between 1280 and 1340, more than offsetting the effects of the decline of the denaro relative to the florin (which declined 50 percent over the same period). In his estimate, the rents of the *pieve* also apparently began to decline after 1340. As a consequence, Herlihy argued, the church had begun selling some of its properties to pay its debts by 1353.<sup>223</sup>

Actually, the crisis that affected the parish of Impruneta began well before 1340. Debts of the church went back at least to 1301.<sup>224</sup> In 1323 we learn that its share of the 20,000-gold-florin assessment on the clergy to help subsidize the construction of the new walls was 600 gold florins (remember, this amount was eventually halved). On June 14 and October 2, 1323, during the episcopal vacancy, the canons and cathedral chapter of Florence gave the church permission to sell property to help repay the loan contracted to repay half that expense (300 florins).<sup>225</sup> In 1323 the canons sold land, vineyards, and a house in the parish of Montebuoni to Cenni da Montebuoni for 170 lire to pay its wall tax. The church also sold property in October at Villa di Fabbiola to help pay the wall subsidy.<sup>226</sup> The imposition of the wall subsidy on the diocesan clergy had a serious impact on Santa Maria Impruneta, as did its lawsuit against Federico dei Bardi. To meet its fiscal obligations, it had begun to sell assets.

Debt therefore seems to have been a problem for Impruneta after 1322, when the wall subsidy and legal expenses were added to previous debts and to the costs of repairing some buildings. In 1323 the archpriest petitioned the vicar general of the church for a license to borrow 250 gold florins to cover the legal expenses in the case against the Bardi.<sup>227</sup> In June of 1323 the *pieve* requested permission to borrow 50 gold florins to help pay its 600-florin assessment of the wall subsidy, repair and restore houses, and pay for its legal expenses.<sup>228</sup> Finally, in 1329 the church contracted a loan from the Acciaiuoli house for 160 gold florins.<sup>229</sup> Debt resulted not from corruption or mismanagement, as Davidsohn had surmised was true for the church as a whole. Rather, it stemmed from the need to pay the communal wall subsidy

and to defend local patronage rights. Unfortunately, economic pressures led to recriminations between the parishes on one hand and the archpriest and his clergy on the other. In 1327 the rectors of the churches of the *pieve* objected to the levy imposed on them by their archpriest to pay the costs of a fact-finding visit by the archpriest of Antella. This was the person deputized by the apostolic legate to gather information relevant to the Bardi case. Three years later the parishes of Quintole and Montebuoni were fighting over parish boundaries and the collection of tithes, no doubt because each was desperately looking for ways to be able to pay its share of the cathedral subsidy (1328), the costs of the Bardi case, and the effects of the 1328–29 grain shortage.<sup>230</sup>

What was happening at Impruneta was also emblematic of what was happening to parish churches throughout the diocese. Civil war in the Florentine countryside between Blacks and Whites after 1300, followed by the series of wars against Pisa (after 1315) and Lucca (after 1325) were taking a toll. Many clergy declared themselves unable to meet their financial obligations. Punitive measures against those not paying their exactions were severe. Some, like the priest of San Romolo, refused to pay the 1304 special impost imposed on the clergy by the papal legate, Niccolò da Prato. The episcopal vicar and treasurer of the cathedral chapter, Giovanni, consequently imposed an interdict on the church.<sup>231</sup> Several rectors in the countryside, such as Presbyter Jacopo of San Michele a Leccia (diocese of Fiesole), were excommunicated because they failed to pay the special impost designed to reimburse the papal delegate for his loss of his horse and mules.<sup>232</sup> In addition, the violence raging in Florence and its countryside was harming parish income in some locations. In the summer of 1309, for example, the collegiate church of San Donato in Citile (diocese of Fiesole) was able to pay only a portion of its papal tenth because of the destruction stemming from factional violence.<sup>233</sup>

Declarations of insolvency by members of the secular clergy became more numerous after 1300 because of war, high taxation, and grain shortages. In 1313 the archpriest of San Gavino Adimari in the Mugello claimed he could not pay the tenth because of damage from war.<sup>234</sup> Under the guidance of Bishop Tedice degli Aliotti of Fiesole, the clergy in Florence and Fiesole asked the noted canonist Giovanni d'Andrea for his opinion whether they should be held to pay the cost of the walls, imposed on the clergy in 1323. His answer, which was affirmative (they should do it for love of country, he wrote), failed to end the dispute over the subsidy. When grain reserves shrank between 1328 and 1330, the situation for the local rectors undoubtedly worsened.<sup>235</sup> In some cases, the resulting pressures led to disagreements over parish boundaries and the exercise of pastoral rights. In 1330, the conflict between San Piero a Montebuoni and San Miniato a Quintole in the *pieve* of Impruneta was ostensibly over parish boundaries, but it was actually about access to tithes and mortuary income at a time of severe food shortages. The clash ended in a victory for San Miniato.<sup>236</sup>



As was true for Impruneta and other parishes, serious financial strains also began to beset the monastery of Passignano in the 1320s. Apparently, the nonpayment of rents by tenants, construction costs, and the growing cost of litigation had forced the abbey into debt by the third decade of the century. Abbot Niccolò had to go to the Acciaiuoli company for a 2,000-florin loan to pay its expenses. Most of this money went to pay legal costs in Rome at the papal curia.<sup>237</sup> The abbot was also simultaneously encountering opposition from residents of San Blasio to the exercise of its customary seigneurial rights of governance, which it shared with the community.<sup>238</sup> In 1318 he had protested to the commune of San Blasio that the right of election of the local rector of the commune was the abbey's alone.<sup>239</sup> At the same time, prominent members of the community, such as the notary Coccho Boschi, were challenging the abbey's claim to ownership of property within the *borgo* of Passignano. Two Florentine arbitrators ultimately ruled in favor of the abbey in 1325.<sup>240</sup> Regarding its debt, the abbey began in 1322 to consign the income of two of its estates (*poderi*) to its creditors.<sup>241</sup> It then sold some property at Grignano near the Pesa and bought other property with the proceeds in the parish of San Cresci di Monteficalle. The newly purchased property was bounded on all four sides by possessions of the abbey, thereby creating a consolidated holding.<sup>242</sup> Several months later the guarantors (*fideiussores*) of the monastery met with representatives of the Acciaiuoli company to work out arrangements for the repayment of the loan.<sup>243</sup>

All in all, for Passignano as well as other ecclesiastical institutions and personnel, the third decade of the fourteenth century was an economic watershed, and the cost of war levied on them by the commune was a major contributing factor to that development. The decade between 1325 and 1335 also constituted the beginning of the economic decline of some of the major banking houses, a development exacerbated by Florentine fiscal policies.<sup>244</sup> These same communal fiscal demands, coupled with the monetary pressures exerted by the bishopric and the papacy on the lower ranks of the secular clergy from the third decade of the fourteenth century, placed at risk the usually symbiotic and cooperative economic relationship between members of the secular clergy and their local communities. Taxation and the imposition of special subsidies had an adverse impact on both the clergy and their parishioners. Linked together in complex ways, the secular and the religious constituted a single community. Fiscal pressure on the local clergy rebounded onto the men and women they served, much as inadequate or decreased federal spending on education in the United States can raise local school taxes. To meet their obligations, members of the clergy had only bad choices: they could raise rents, enforce rent collection, call in loans from local residents, or remove more of their locally grown grain from the community to be marketed elsewhere, where profits could possibly be higher. Or, if they chose to protect their parishioners, they could simply refuse to pay the imposts or plea an inability to do so because of the burden of war or other



taxes.

It should therefore not surprise us at all why the procurator of the clergy of the diocese, Duccio (a canon of San Piero Scheraggio), appeared in the late summer of 1326 before the vicar of the bishop to present a formal complaint. He argued that the weight of taxation (specifically citing *gabelle*) had become so intolerable that it called into question the clergy's ability (and willingness) to continue to celebrate the divine services. Indeed, taxes were especially burdensome in 1325 and 1326 (when they were necessary to fund the war against Lucca) and were to continue to be in 1327 (imposed by the government of the duke of Calabria). This burden of taxation affected the lower ranks of the secular clergy disproportionately, and many local parish priests were reluctant to squeeze their parishioners to meet the seemingly insatiable fiscal demands of the commune, the papacy, and papal delegates.<sup>245</sup> Perhaps it was because of these reasons that the clergy threatened a strike in 1326. To weaken the collective voice of clerical opposition, perhaps alarmed at its assertiveness, Bishop Francesco Silvestri removed in the new synodal constitution of 1327 episcopal permission for the existence of the *congregatio clericorum*, originally granted the clergy sixteen years earlier (1311) by his predecessor.<sup>246</sup> The threat of a clerical strike in 1326—recalling the memories of an earlier opposition movement by the clergy in 1285 (see [Chapter 5](#))—underscores for us the close connection between developments in the economy and the history of piety.

At the end of the thirteenth century, between 1287 and 1289, one the most charismatic intellectuals in Florence, the friar Pietro Olivi (d. 1298), was teaching at the Franciscan friary of Santa Croce. One of his principal ideas was that an excessive preoccupation with temporal affairs on the part of many churchmen was corrupting ecclesiastical institutions, not to mention the original mendicant ideal. The young Dante Alighieri was probably a student of Olivi's and of Ubertino da Cásale (d. circa 1330) at the Franciscan friary school. The influence on the poet of the Ubertino's masterpiece, *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu*, shaped by themes first developed by Olivi, is vividly evident in the *Paradiso*.<sup>1</sup> A certain contemporary of Dante and of Ubertino was a businessman ("uno nostro cittadino di piccolo affare") who had died without heirs in 1330. He left a generous legacy of six denari for every poor man, woman, and child in the city (17,000, according to Villani). In addition, he gave three thousand more to the "respectable poor" (*poveri vergognosi*); that is to say, to those in hospitals and prisons, and to the mendicant friars (*religiosi mendicanti*), all of whom received twelve denari each. Villani declared this gesture by this man of modest wealth to be a good example (*buono esempio*) to all those who were moved to help the poor of Christ (*poveri di Cristo*), especially as it came at the end of a devastating two-year grain dearth (see [Figure 10](#)).<sup>2</sup> For many laymen and laywomen like him, the distribution of money to the poor and sick and the endowment of postmortem or commemorative masses and suffrages (prayers of the living for the dead) were signs of Christian virtue.<sup>3</sup> Along with Olivi's ideals, the gestures of this unnamed individual in Villani's chronicle represented two of the several diverse paradigms of piety and devotion that were shaping the cultural life of Dante's Florence at this time of rising fortunes.



Figure 10. Distribution of grain at Orsanmichele during the dearth of 1329. Manuscript illumination from *Il Biadaiolo*, fourteenth century, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

The history of piety and religious practices is one of the most difficult aspects of any society to understand. The historian Francis Oakley has noted that piety is the “stance of the faithful before God as it is expressed not only in

the struggle to avoid sin and to attain virtue, but also in meditation, prayer, adoration, worship, and the longing for union with the divine.”<sup>4</sup> More specifically, in the medieval context, piety was closely bound up with the yearning for eternal salvation and the fear of damnation, and this was as true for Florence as it was elsewhere in Europe. The most appropriate manner by which to approach Florentine piety is to see it as William James conceived of religion in general: “The pivot round which the religious life, as we have traced it, revolves, is the interest of the individual in his private personal destiny.”<sup>5</sup> The ultimate and major spiritual concern of each Florentine was his or her own personal fate as well as that of the fate of kinsmen, both here on earth and in the afterlife. Rather than attempt to offer a comprehensive synthesis of this very complex topic, this chapter will address the following question: what roles did Florentine religious traditions play in the transition of Florence from minor to dominant commune in Tuscany, and how did that transformation shape those traditions in turn?

Religious traditions at the time of Dante both facilitated and responded to the rapid rise of the commune to supremacy in Tuscany in constructive ways. Indeed, the transformation of Florence in the course of the two generations covered here shaped the evolution of its spiritual traditions, while those traditions, in turn, influenced the direction of the economic, political, and cultural life of the commune. Among the responses those changes caused were dissent and resistance. In general, therefore, Florentine religious culture provided the Florentine with the means to *cope* with the troubling spiritual and cultural consequences of this transformation, to *vindicate* the rise to supremacy by the commune of Florence, and—at the same time, paradoxically—to call it all into question. The spiritual traditions of medieval Florentines during the lifetime of Dante were rich, complex, multitextured, and diverse. As Claudio Leonardi has argued, Florence was a deeply divided and contradictory city, and its spiritual traditions reflected that fact.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the prosperity of the city—facilitated in large part by usury (credit in exchange for interest payments)—was a cause of great concern for many. It elicited the terror of personal damnation, the guilt that stemmed from the acquisition of unimaginable material wealth, the horror at the swelling ranks of the poor that seemed to be a direct consequence of this moneymaking, the fear of immigrants, the doubt regarding the mission of an increasingly powerful commune split apart after 1300 by violent civil war, and the shock of the corrosive effects of excessive avarice and envy on the social and spiritual fabric of the city. To cope with the spiritual effects of this prosperity, Florentines found solace and comfort in preexisting beliefs and practices made even more precious to them by the rapidity of the changes in their society.

Among the most cherished religious traditions for Florentines were the belief in the existence of purgatory, which required a commitment to postmortem masses and suffrages, a profound concern for the welfare of the

past and future dead, a special devotion to images as aids for spiritual contemplation and as objects to which one prayed for healing miracles, a strong commitment to charity, a devotion to the veneration of saints as public and private mediators with God, and an attachment to certain burial practices and rituals that served to shorten time in purgatory and ease the path of the soul to heaven. Each of these beliefs and practices was a means to avoid damnation and obtain salvation in the life to come, and they spoke, as William James wrote of religion in general, to the “interest of the individual in his [own] private personal destiny.” This concern with personal destinies is what rich and poor Florentines shared, whether it was the yearning for salvation or the healing of bodies. In this regard, dividing Florentine religious life into “popular” or “elite” traditions is not helpful.<sup>7</sup>

The traditions outlined above not only allowed Florentines to endure and to accept the threats that their own prosperity posed to their salvation, but they also served to vindicate, legitimize, and facilitate the culture of money-making and civic aggrandizement that led to those concerns in the first place. In this regard no aspect of Florentine piety was more important than the belief in purgatory. Not only did the conviction that there existed an intermediate realm between heaven and hell offer great hope to the prosperous for their eventual salvation, but it also helped sustain a culture and practice of money-making. By making the salvation of the usurer possible, as Jacques Le Goff has argued, purgatory “contributed to the birth of Capitalism.” Indeed, as he has written, “the birth of Purgatory is also the dawn of banking.”<sup>8</sup> By offering the usurer hope for his eventual salvation, purgatory made room for a temperate accumulation of wealth, as long as it was used to glorify God and save souls. As a seminal idea underpinning Florentine private and public life, belief in purgatory necessitated a vigorous defense. Indeed, the need to defend the idea of purgatory from doubt and dissent was one of the theological motivations behind the heresy inquisitions in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.

As the linchpin of Florentine pious and religious practices, belief in purgatory helped generate a number of new cultural developments in the city of Dante: the quickening and intensification of the devotion of Florentines (particularly women) to religious images, the appearance of commemorative chapels and tombs at the end of the thirteenth century as the locations for suffrages and postmortem masses, the legitimization of Florence as a divine instrument of God’s will, and the emergence at the end of the thirteenth century of a “cult of remembrance” among prosperous individual male Florentines who were largely responsible for Florentine supremacy. In a recent study of the impact of the Black Death in northern and central Italy, Samuel Cohn has argued that it was actually the 1362 pandemic of the plague that created such a “culture of remembrance.” According to this view, the experience of the epidemic encouraged wealthy male donors to leave legacies and instructions to ecclesiastical entities, members of the family, and

charitable institutions so that they and their reputations would be remembered and venerated by later generations. Constituting the rise of a “Renaissance psychology,” according to Cohn, it signaled the beginning of a preoccupation with fame, glory, and earthly remembrance for members of the ruling elite. According to this argument, tombs or tomb sculpture reminded future generations to remember the individual who created them and even, in some cases, bound descendants to the stipulated desires of the deceased. It was part and parcel of the new “Renaissance” emphasis on individualism as a cultural tradition. In reality, however, the connection between monumental graves and the desire for fame seem to appear in significant numbers much earlier, at the end of the thirteenth century. It drew its inspiration from belief in purgatory (as a site for suffrages and masses), and its context was the economic, political, and social transformation of Florence at the time of Dante.<sup>9</sup>

All in all, the idea of purgatory was at the heart of the process of renewal and rebirth that many Florentines believed they were experiencing during the age of Dante. Indeed, it spoke to their needs to confront their own private destinies and the eternal fates of their loved ones. By inspiring Florentines to reflect critically on their own past actions and the consequences of those experiences on their fate in the afterlife, by helping them to create a mentality that was paradoxically supportive of a capitalist economy, the idea of purgatory might also have contributed in complex ways to the origins of the modern world. Do we not find in the cultural traditions clustered around the idea of purgatory some of the origins of modernity, particularly the focus on a critically self-reflexive individualism and a preoccupation with fame and remembrance, within the context of an industrial economy? Perhaps it was not in *spite* of the church that the early Renaissance (and modernity) emerged, as Jacob Burckhardt (and Robert Davidsohn) argued; perhaps it was—at least in part—*because* of it.<sup>10</sup>

To illustrate how these features played themselves out in Florentine culture, we shall follow eight models, or paradigms, of the religious life, each of which in one way or another embraced the imitation of Christ (*imitatio Christi*) as a noble ideal. The charitable behavior of the wealthy man described above by Villani constituted our first model. A second model or tradition of piety was associated with the most exemplary members of the secular clergy, such as the respected Bene di Nero, the archpriest of Impruneta. An alternative pattern of career development was the one represented by the ambitious and worldly Frenchman who always enjoyed a close relationship with the papal curia, Stefano de Broy. The remaining five models of spirituality and piety were associated with a variety of religious communities: the monastic and regular clergy (specifically the Benedictines, embodying the ongoing strength of the monastic ideal), the mendicants (including friars like Fra Illuminato dei Caponsacchi and female devotees such as the tertiaries), the radical Franciscan dissenters (the Spirituals, inspired by Pietro Olivi), the heterodox, and the civic apologists (those who

identified Guelfism with a religious mission). These were not separate and distinct models or paradigms; rather, they often overlapped and were mutually inclusive.

To explore these various traditions and paradigms, this chapter will examine a variety of topics, divided into three areas. The first area of concern is religious life in the private sphere (religious belief, quality of pastoral care, testamentary practices, the restoration of ill-gotten gains, death and burial, burial choices, the appearance of commemorative chapels and tombs, and religious images). The second area to be explored is religious life in the public sphere (the liturgical calendar and religious feasts, cults of saints, preaching, new church construction, and directions of piety, and public charity). Finally, the chapter will end with an assessment of dissenting traditions within Florence, particularly those associated with the Franciscan Spirituals. Woven in and out of this overview will be the various religious and pious paradigms listed above. I do not purport to offer a complete overview of religious life in the city of Dante. Rather, I will examine how the cultural traditions associated with the church facilitated the transformation of Florence into one of the most powerful and influential cities in Europe and how that transition, in turn, affected Florentine religious traditions.

## Religious Life in the Private Sphere: The Individual Before God

### **Belief and the Sacramental Life**

Like other Europeans, Florentines attempted to follow the ideal of the *imitatio Christi* (patterning one's life after that of Christ) by following the traditions and demands of their faith. They were the true paths to the salvation of the soul, the ideal goal of their individual destinies. Essentially, the basic tenets of the Christian faith for all believers were contained in the Apostles' Creed. For the clergy and the people of Dante's day, orthodox (right-thinking) belief was defined and refined in the church councils, most importantly the declarations of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the Second Council of Lyon (1274).<sup>11</sup> Salvation was possible only within the universal church. Each believer was required after 1215 to confess to a priest and partake of Communion at least once a year, usually at Easter. The fear of eternal damnation and the yearning for salvation were also principal aspects of Florentine belief, and the sacraments functioned to dispense the grace, the healing power of God that cleansed the soul of sin and was necessary for salvation.

The sacraments were closely connected to the life cycle of an individual. Only bishops like Antonio degli Orsi (d. 1321) could perform two sacraments: ordination and confirmation. When the episcopal office was vacant, however, cathedral canons like Stefano de Broy were empowered by tradition and canon law to substitute for the bishop in the ordination of new priests. For



secular priests like the archpriest Bene di Nero, the primary responsibility was to administer the sacraments to the faithful under their charge: baptism, confession, the Eucharist, marriage, extreme unction. In the cathedral chapter, regarding the sacraments, canons such as Stefano de Broy delegated pastoral responsibilities to at least six chaplains (*cappellani*). In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, the laity received only the host (Eucharist) at Communion. The priests received both the host and the wine. Extreme unction prepared the souls of the dying for their journey to purgatory, where they were to pay the final penalty for the sins for which they had already confessed and received absolution. Florentines, like most Christian Europeans, believed that at the day of Final Judgment, vividly displayed in the late thirteenth-century ceiling mosaic in the Baptistery (see [Figure 4](#)), the resurrected body would be reunited with the soul in paradise or hell, depending on the merit of individual concerned. Whereas the soul was the principal carrier of individual identity, eventually it would be united at resurrection with the body. For example, in the *Commedia*, when the narrator encountered the souls of the dead during his journey, he did not confront physical bodies; rather, they were *aerial* or ghostly bodies that would eventually be united to physical bodies at Judgment Day. Dante's views, influenced by those of Aquinas (d. 1274), were probably also those of other contemporary educated Florentines.<sup>12</sup>

Throughout the course of one's life, devotion to the saints (the holy dead), acts of charity, and pious works (such as pilgrimages to major shrines) greatly aided one's pursuit of salvation in the life to come and of virtue in the life on earth. The saints in particular served as important intercessors of the living for the sake of the souls of the past and future dead. The veneration by the living of saints such as Zenobius or John could call forth miracles to cure the sick or combat evil, as they were responsible for curative and punitive miracles. Devotion to their relics and their images helped channel the power of the holy dead to aid the living to seek virtue and to avoid sin. No intercessor was more important to Florentines than the Virgin Mary, and numerous confraternities (*laudesi*) gathered regularly to sing her praises and seek her assistance. In Dante's Florence, confraternities of lay penitents afforded collaborative opportunities for members to perform acts of devotion to honor one or more patron saints and to offer postmortem prayers for their peers. Among the activities they offered for mutual spiritual support were acts of charity and prayer. In effect, confraternities were mutual aid societies among the laity whose purpose was to promote the spiritual well being of their members. The *laudesi* of Santa Maria del Carmine and Sant'Agnese, for example, met in the choir of the Carmine friary. The members of this confraternity were buried there, and they celebrated mass on a monthly basis. The confraternity of San Zanobi, founded in 1281 (with new statutes in 1326), met every evening in the cathedral. Members sought to care for the souls of their deceased brothers through the subsidization of anniversary masses, the giving of charity, and the

## Purgatory

To talk about piety and ritual in Dante's Florence is therefore to talk primarily about the concern of the living for the destinies and the welfare of souls, including the past and future dead. In this respect, no idea was more central to the Florentine spiritual tradition than the belief in purgatory.<sup>14</sup> It offered hope to those who were both benefiting from and contributing to the remarkable economic prosperity of the commune. The quick fortunes made by Florentines in the thirteenth century had created a terrifying scenario: a common medieval theme (*topos*) claimed that it was "difficult if not impossible for the merchant to please God." As merchants, bankers, money changers, as *usurers*, medieval Florentines felt themselves to be particularly at risk. Medieval exempla, church councils, and the writings of legal commentators condemned usurers and merchant bankers alike: they were robbers of time and pillagers of property; men who made profits while others slept. Guillaume Durand, whom we have encountered earlier as a papal judge delegate in the San Lorenzo-Chiarissimi house dispute, condemned open usurers such as Florentines and Sienese, as well as moneylenders in Italy. For Florentines, therefore, the proper uses of worldly possessions acquired from a prosperous economy were twofold: to aid the souls of the dead in purgatory, and to benefit the souls of the living through charitable giving and the invocation of saints.<sup>15</sup> Specifically, masses, prayers, and charitable works offered up by the living for the souls of the dead shortened the length of time a soul needed to remain in purgatory. In the testaments they have left us, Florentines specified how they wanted their property to be used after their deaths so that they and or their kinsmen would spend as little time in purgatory as possible.

One particular example from 1330, left us by a noblewoman, underscores the importance of this belief in purgatory. Giovanna was the widow of *dominus* Ubertino da Gaville and daughter of *dominus* Messerino dei Caponsacchi. She was a resident of the parish of San Lorenzo. In her testament, she left a *podere* (landed holding) in Fiesole, numerous items for an altar (including three missals and five chasubles, or *pianetae*, the sleeveless vestments worn by priests during mass), and twenty-five florins to the prior and church of Santa Maria Maddalena. She wanted the legacies to be used by a priest to celebrate mass and recite the Divine Office for her soul. The purpose? "So that her soul might be liberated from the pains of purgatory more quickly" (*Ut eius anima de penis purgatorii celerius liberetur*).<sup>16</sup> An anecdote recorded by Villani also reveals the centrality of the idea of purgatory in Florentine religious belief. Shortly after a man had died, his spirit returned to the world of the living "speaking of marvelous and grand things about the other life and about the pains of purgatory" (*dicendo grandi cose e maravigliose dell'altra vita e delle pene di purgatorio*). A saintly Dominican prior and a hundred men and several of his friars examined him and brought

him the body of Christ (*Corpus Domini*). As a consequence of the beneficial effect of the merits of this prior, the man eventually found eternal rest (*requia eternale*)<sup>17</sup>

The economic and social setting of the city on the Arno during the two generations before the arrival of the Black Death created an environment that sustained and intensified the belief in this intermediary realm between hell and heaven. In a world that was producing more and more material goods and luxury items, the idea of purgatory appealed in particular to upwardly mobile men and women who were benefiting from this expansion but who did not wish to be condemned to hell because of it. Belief in purgatory enabled them to continue to grow rich while simultaneously never losing hope in their own salvation or in that of their loved ones. As such, paradoxically (since its focus was on the life to come), the idea of purgatory helped sustain a culture of moneymaking in an industrializing society.<sup>18</sup>

## The Quality of Pastoral Care

The fate of souls depended on the quality of pastoral care delivered to the laity by the clergy. Were the quality of pastoral care and the administration of the sacraments sufficient to meet the spiritual needs of the laity? Were the sacraments being administered regularly? Were the churches adequately equipped and the priests responsible in the execution of their duties to their parishioners? The overall picture of the quality of pastoral life presented by Robert Davidsohn over a century ago was too negative.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, the limited and available evidence indicates that the public held most members of the secular clergy in high regard and that for the most part, especially regarding the lower ranks of the secular clergy, the quality of pastoral care was satisfactory.<sup>20</sup>

Generally, an assessment of an issue like quality of pastoral care requires that a number of indicators be addressed: the educational level of the clergy, the effectiveness of the regulation of clerical behavior, the frequency of visitations to supervise the moral character of the clergy, the inventories of parish churches to ascertain if they had adequate supplies for the celebration of the mass and the recitation of the Divine Office, and the types and nature of testamentary legacies left behind by Florentines. Sporadic evidence makes a determinative judgment impossible, but it suggests that most clergy of the diocese—from the bishop to the local priest—were cognizant of their primary responsibility to deliver quality pastoral care to their parishioners, especially in the last decade of this study, the 1320s. This is the period when several bishops supervised the promulgation of numerous constitutions designed to reform clerical life, and this is also the period when the corporate body of the clergy (*congregatio cleri*) expressed concern for the need to provide the basic standards in pastoral care. The two synodal constitutions of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi (1310) and Francesco Silvestri (1327) generally set high standards

for the moral and spiritual behavior of the clergy within the diocese.

Fourteenth-century legislation indicates that there was official concern for and recognition of the need to provide qualified priests. Regarding the quality of education, we know what bishops expected, but we have little documentation about the actual educational level of the local clergy. The 1310 constitution stipulated that to be promoted to the priesthood, a man needed to meet the basic minimum standards of literacy required to perform basic pastoral duties, including the celebration of the mass. Generally, the training of rural priests happened locally in the *pieve*, with a young man apprenticing himself to the local rector or archpriest, much like a boy might apprentice himself to a local mason. Theoretically, the bishop was supposed to test the aspiring priest regarding his knowledge of liturgy, grammar, and psalmody before ordaining him.<sup>21</sup>

Visitation records offer us few clues about moral behavior among the clergy. The general level of moral behavior among the clergy was apparently acceptable to the local parishioners, even if it was not to the bishops.<sup>22</sup> To enforce synodal constitutions that regulated clerical morality, prelates were supposed to conduct periodic visitations. When we turn to frequency of visitations throughout the diocese, however, which the bishops were supposed to do at least once a year,<sup>23</sup> we find that there is little documentation of them by any ecclesiastical official before the 1330s. Before that decade visitations appear to have been sporadic and ad hoc, conducted mainly by the bishop of Fiesole and the archpriests of Impruneta. Bishop Filippo da Perugia, a Franciscan who served as bishop of Fiesole from 1282 to 1298, was especially active in the initiation of inquests into the behavior of the clergy under his charge. For example, in the summer of 1290, he investigated an archpriest accused of simony, concubinage, and neglect of his pastoral duties. Specifically, he stood accused of neglecting the baptism of children and the recitation of the Divine Office and of co-habiting with a woman. The rector of San Leo was accused not only of living with a woman named Chara, but of also having a daughter by her. Bishop Filippo investigated the sexual lives of other clergy as well, including the archpriest of Vado and several rectors.<sup>24</sup> Like his counterpart in Florence, Bishop Jacobo Rainucci (1286), Bishop Filippo was a mendicant. Whereas the former acted to resolve serious factional tensions in Florence (until he died shortly after taking office), the latter was serious about eliminating concubinage among the clergy in his diocese. In 1296 he interrogated thirty-one priests, and fourteen were apparently living with concubines. Concubinage was not uncommon, especially in the outer reaches of the diocese (in the Casentino). However, concubinage does not seem to have bothered local parishioners. There is no evidence at all that any accusations against priests emanated from members of the local community. Furthermore, there were so few accusations of usury against priests initiated by locals that it appears that local communities (such as parishes in the Val d'Eisa) were generally satisfied with their clergy. Only

prelates like Filippo seemed to have been concerned about clerical behavior (particularly concubinage), a stance that no doubt led to his unpopularity among his clergy and many of his parishioners.<sup>25</sup> The only other ecclesiastical official for whom we have documentation about periodic visitations was the archpriest of Impruneta. In 1308, for example, the archpriest Ranieri asked his vicar, Maffeo, a canon of Impruneta, whether there was any evidence of adultery, concubinage, heresy, or usury. Ranieri even inquired whether Maffeo was living with a concubine and what property he possessed.<sup>26</sup> By the time we reach the 1330s, systematic visitations by ecclesiastical officials were becoming more frequent.

Were churches adequately supplied with the equipment necessary for the mass? It appears that they were furnished with the minimum requirements, and if they were not, local parishioners often supplied them with their necessities. The responsibilities of priests in residence included the administration of the sacraments, particularly the Eucharist or the celebration of mass (the principle worship service), and the recitation of the Divine Office. In general throughout Europe at this time, the recitation of the liturgy of the hours was being done more and more by a priest on a private basis, whenever the priest was able to do so. On the whole, it appears that the churches for which we have documentation were adequately but not richly equipped to celebrate the Eucharist. Even in the countryside in 1276 a parish like San Jacopo di Polverosa was rather well equipped for the sacrament of the Eucharist. In the church for the mass were a silver chalice, two textiles other than vestments for use in the cultus (*paramenta*), four altar cloths (*tobaliae*) for use at Lent, containers of wine (*vegetes*), several altar cloths for the altar, a small table for reading, and a missal.<sup>27</sup> The 1310 synodal constitution required a minimum of two altar cloths, a chalice, and relevant vestments for celebration of the mass.<sup>28</sup>

When altar equipment was lacking, many parishioners were solicitous to provide for the needs of their parishes in their legacies. Particularly popular were legacies for textiles for the altar (*paramenta*) and chalices (*calices*; singular, *calix*). For example, several testators in the early fourteenth century left legacies to equip institutions such as San Martino, the cathedral chapter, and the convent of Santa Maria Maddalena with the necessary items for the celebration of the mass and the recitation of the office. They included bells, chalices, missals, textiles (*paramenta*), and chasubles (*pianetae*). In 1327, for example, Gherardo dei Guadagni gave one hundred gold florins to the Servite friary in Florence (where he wanted to be buried) for a chalice, a missal, a pair of decorative textiles (*paramenta*), and any other types of equipment deemed useful by his executors for the ornamentation of the altar (on which there were to be prayers for his and his family's souls).<sup>29</sup> The inventory of San Martino a Vespignano, probably Giotto's native village, indicates the church was fairly well equipped with what the priest needed, including a silver chalice with gold inlay, tables, a tablecloth for use at the altar, a new and an old Bible, and

two missals. In the diocese of Fiesole, the church of San Miniato (*piviere* of Lobaco) was very well supplied with equipment for the Divine Office. Not only did the new rector appointed in 1313 have a missal, epistolary, and evangelary, but he also had at his disposal a Psalter, an antiphonary for use at night, a censer (*turribulem*), and some sort of cloth (*paramentum*) for the altar.<sup>30</sup> The surviving sporadic evidence suggests that even in the countryside priests had the equipment necessary for a proper administration of the sacrament of the Eucharist.

On the other hand, they seem to have been less well equipped with the resources needed to recite the Divine Office, unless they were specifically endowed with such by local parishioners like Gherardo dei Guadagni. One exception seems to have been the rector of the parish of Petrognano in the Val d'Eisa, who had not just one, but ten books for the recitation of the office, including a missal, antiphonary, and Psalter.<sup>31</sup> All in all, if these few examples are representative, it appears that parishes were sufficiently well provided with the equipment necessary for the celebration of mass, but only a few could handle the responsibility of reciting the Divine Office.

## Testamentary Practices

Another indicator of the quality of pastoral care among medieval Florentines is the number, amounts, and distribution of testamentary legacies distributed among the clergy by their parishioners.<sup>32</sup> They reveal that the secular clergy as well as the mendicants were both constructively engaged in the spiritual lives of Florentines. A common theme in medieval historiography regarding the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is that the laity increasingly was neglecting the secular clergy in favor of the mendicants, suggesting that the spirituality offered by the mendicants was more appealing than the more traditional forms represented by the secular clergy. A recent study of Genoa has made this point, specifically with regard to the thirteenth century.<sup>33</sup> As Richard Trexler has argued, "The income of the seculars was in rapid decline, as the quickest glance at contemporary testaments in Tuscany makes clear."<sup>34</sup> In both city and countryside, however, Florentines never abandoned the secular clergy, even though there were certainly leaving legacies for the mendicants in growing numbers and amounts. With regard to the eternal fates of their own "private destinies," Florentines never abandoned their parish priests for the friars. Even as we acknowledge the growing popularity of the mendicants in the city, we should also be careful not to exaggerate the extent of their gains at the expense of the seculars. Apparently, Florentines were not unlike the Sienese, who also never completely abandoned the secular clergy as recipients of their testamentary legacies.<sup>35</sup>

Of the 503 testaments from both the countryside and the city between 1255 and 1330, 217 included at least one bequest to the mendicants and 216 to the secular clergy (see [Table 7, Chapter 3](#)).<sup>36</sup> Numerous examples reveal

that individual Florentines, although they certainly showered the mendicants with legacies in the city, continued to bequeath numerous legacies to the seculars like the archpriest Bene di Nero and his colleagues at Impruneta at the end of the thirteenth and opening decades of the fourteenth century. For example, the testament of Count Alberto di Alessandro di Mangona, drawn up in 1289, charged the bishops of Florence and Pistoia with the responsibility of restituting two thousand lire to those who believed themselves wronged by the count. In 1300 Decco del ful Bernardino dei Caponsacchi designated thirty lire to the Franciscans and Dominicans, respectively. However, he also left five soldi to each presbyter in the city and suburbs of Florence “to say masses and celebrate the Divine Office” (*pro missis dicendis et omnis offitii celebrando*).<sup>37</sup> Belacqua, a maker of musical instruments and a man who appeared in Dante’s *Comme-dia*, was supposedly the “laziest” person in Florence. He made an appearance in the testament of Ghisola del fu Albizzo da Tagliafune (Valdarno). He was her *mundualdus*, the male whom she charged to act on her behalf in all legal matters. A resident of the parish of San Procolo, he was married to Lapa, to whom Ghisola gave the responsibility of distributing four lire to presbyters of her own choosing. Belacqua appears in the *Purgatorio*, and his conversation with Dante underscored the importance of suffrages (intercessory prayers) to the abbreviation of his time in Purgatory.<sup>38</sup> Also typical among other urban testaments was that of Durante di Ricovero, the tavern owner in the parish of Santa Maria Maggiore. In 1322, apparently concerned about the usurious origins of his wealth, he entrusted all his ill-gotten gains to his confessor, a priest in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore.<sup>39</sup> Ghisola and Durante both entrusted their legacies to members of the secular clergy, underscoring that the role played by the seculars in the execution of wills and testaments remained a significant one, even in the city.

In general, it seems apparent that the spiritual geography of the upper strata of the rural population was highly localized and focused around the local parish and the local priest. Several testaments provided money so that the host would be illuminated when elevated in the mass, and two women in 1282 and 1302 commissioned paintings to serve as aids for prayer and contemplation.<sup>40</sup> Most burial preferences among our sample designated the local parish.<sup>41</sup> Not only did our rural testators entrust the local secular clergy with the primary responsibility of offering intercessory masses for their souls, but they also preferred them to serve as executors of wills, distributors of poor relief, and dispensers of ill-gotten gains. About a tenth of the sample mentioned usury and ill-gotten gains, and a third of that number designated a member of the secular clergy to be responsible for making sure that the money was returned to those from whom it was taken.<sup>42</sup> All in all, the secular clergy worked closely with the rural population: they resolved local disputes, served as witnesses in notarized transactions, and rented land on advantageous terms to local residents.<sup>43</sup> It is always difficult to gauge the quality of pastoral



care delivered by the seculars. Nevertheless, all the indicators suggest that the secular clergy met the needs of their parishioners.

## The Restitution of Ill-Gotten Gains

Directing testamentary legacies to restitute ill-gotten gains was a means by which one could atone for one's sins while on earth. About one in eight testators in our sample included the restoration of ill-gotten gains in their testaments, and the secular clergy as well as the mendicants were major recipients and distributors of these types of legacies. In a society grown rich by banking and commerce, usury played a significant role in economic life; yet, its practice imperiled souls. In the 1274 decretal *Quamquam*, the papacy recognized that the bishop and the secular clergy had the right to manage the disposition of the properties and the bodies of usurers.<sup>44</sup> The promulgation by Pope Boniface VIII of *Super cathedram* in 1300 required mendicant houses to give the parish churches of those buried in mendicant cemeteries one-quarter of all legacies, and the Florentine synodal constitution of 1327 stipulated that one-third of all indistinct (nonspecified) legacies for the poor and pious places ("indistincte ad pias causas sue pro anima") must go the bishop; one-third must go to the local parish, and the remaining third should go to the executors of the estate for distribution to pious causes.<sup>45</sup>

Of the thirty-five urban testaments that specifically called for the restitution of ill-gotten gains, more than half designated the bishop or a member of a monastic community as executors. Contrition on the part of the testators seems to have stemmed from their conversations with their local parish priest. Confessors served as intermediaries between the bishop, who was ultimately responsible for distributing the funds, and the usurers. In 1321, in fact, one usurer stipulated that if the Dominicans failed to return his ill-gotten gains, he wanted the bishop to do it himself. In another example, Cìño di Guardo, parish of San Michele Visdomini, leased an episcopal shop (*apotheca*) that was located under the houses of Megliore dei Guadagni. Megliore had assigned the houses to the bishop for use by the poor in order to offer restitution for his ill-gotten gains.<sup>46</sup>

In 503 testaments before 1330, 60 stipulated that ill-gotten gains should be distributed to certain parties after the death of the testator. Of that number, sixteen testators designated members of the clergy to serve as executors of their estates. Surprisingly, of those sixteen executors mentioned in the testaments in which the testator wanted ill-gotten gains restored, seven were members of the secular clergy, five were friars, and four were monks. The overall percentage of testaments from the sample of 503 that mentioned the restitution of ill-gotten gains (12 percent) is similar to the figure obtained by Charles de La Roncière for only one small zone of the diocese, the Val d'Eisa. In a sample of sixty-eight testaments from the Val d'Eisa, he found that 13 percent included the restitution of ill-gotten gains ("pro incertis et male

ablatis”), most of which dated after 1310. He suggests that usury restitutions were inspired by mendicant preaching (most evident in the countryside after 1300), but our sample indicates that for the diocese as a whole, the secular clergy was also inspiring testators to restore ill-gotten gains.<sup>47</sup>

Typical among the testators in our sample with a special devotion to the secular clergy was Nerlo del fu Gotto dei Nerli, resident of the parish of San Jacopo d’Oltrarno. In his testament he acknowledged he had gotten rich from usurious dealings with certain people [*a certis personis*). Hence, he asked that one thousand lire be returned to those from whom he benefited. Among his executors was a canon of San Jacopo and another presbyter.<sup>48</sup> In 1303, Ranieri del fu Bellindotto, a resident of the parish of San Lorenzo and admitted usurer, directed one hundred lire to the bishop (“*tamquam executore ordinario hui-usmodi restituendorum incertorum*”) to distribute to unspecified parties as ill-gotten gains. His confessor was a canon of the church (Ranieri). A month later Cino del fu Uberto (Santa Maria Maggiore) gave the bishop twenty lire in ill-gotten gains he had taken from uncertain persons, which he wanted distributed by the prelate.<sup>49</sup> In April of 1300 at Petrognano a testator left eight lire in the custody of his confessor Presbyter Francesco of San Pietro di Petrognano.<sup>50</sup>



Figure 11. Giotto di Bondone (1266–1336). *Raising of Lazarus*. Scrovegni Chapel, Padua. Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

## Burial Practices

Florentine traditions regarding burial practices and rituals functioned to shorten time spent by the repented soul in purgatory and to ease its path into heaven. For the individual Florentine in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the need to transcend death in order to achieve eternal life and the assumption that the body was integral to the identity of the self were essential convictions.<sup>51</sup> Both were themes in Florentine burial practices, and both are evident in a fresco painted by an early fourteenth-century Florentine: the portrayal of the raising of Lazarus in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua by Giotto, dated around 1305 (see [Figure 11](#)). In that fresco, we see Christ miraculously regenerate the pale, shrunken, and tightly wrapped body of the brother of Martha and Mary.<sup>52</sup> The dominant theme of the image is the triumph of Christ over death, symbolized, as Bruce Cole has noted, in the presence of the lily and leafy trees in the background. It is significant that the quatrefoil of this fresco is *The Creation of Adam*, which reaffirmed the power of God to confer life on barren matter. However, it is also important to note that *The Raising of Lazarus* and *The Creation of Adam* ([Figure 11](#)) also underscored another theme: the horror of the reality of death. Not only is the image of Lazarus himself horrific, but several people present at the scene recoil from the smell of rotting flesh.<sup>53</sup> In the quatrefoil, Adam recalls the power of God to give life, but he also reminds us that with his sin in the garden came death. Good works by the living, particularly prayers, acts of charity, and commemorative or postmortem masses in the memory of the deceased, suffrages (or intercessory prayers for the souls of the dead), could abbreviate the time that the souls of the dead remained in purgatory. Since by 1274 (the Second Council of Lyon) the church hierarchy had officially accepted the doctrine of purgatory, it was increasingly common by the end of the thirteenth century for testators to choose specific clergy to celebrate the commemorative masses for themselves, their deceased loved ones, or both. In the east transept of Santa Croce alone, there were ten family-endowed chapels, specifically designed as sites for suffrages on behalf of their loved ones.<sup>54</sup>

There were a number of important rituals and traditions performed both before and after death in medieval Florence. Prior to death, if the dying person desired and could afford a notary, he or she commissioned a testament to be drawn up at home to include legacies to be directed to the ecclesiastical institutions and persons worthy of his or her charity. The documents also divided the property among heirs. These documents also usually stipulated the names of the executors and often designated the preferred place of burial. Quite a few of the surviving testaments were completed while the person was on the deathbed. Theoretically, if the person then died a “good death,” he or she confessed his or her sins, took Communion, and partook of the sacrament of unction.<sup>55</sup> Following the cleansing of the body, the dead person lay in state

in his or her house until burial. At this stage, women often gathered around the corpse to sing the lamentations of the dead. By 1300 a set of sumptuary laws had developed to regulate the size and type of tapers and to forbid the use of expensive cloth either on the deceased or for the pall. Soon after the washing and lying in the house, the body was buried.<sup>56</sup>

The constitutions of the collegiate church of San Lorenzo in 1369 provide us with some insight into the nature of the obligations of the clergy to the dead a generation after the period covered by this study. The canons, prior, and chaplains normally held a vigil at the house of the deceased where the body lay in state. The next day the canons, prior, and chaplains processed with the body to the church for burial, where they completed their religious services. During the procession to the church, men and women were separated, with the latter taking a secondary role. Like today, parishioners offered money to the clergy who performed the services. These were the burial fees or mortuary offerings, which were actually offerings made at the altar.<sup>57</sup> The service of worship used by the clergy was the office of the dead. It was a vigil that did not include a mass, performed by clergy as they stood around the corpse in the church or friary. After the performance of the office of the dead, the clergy went with the body to the grave site or tomb.<sup>58</sup> Both the office of the dead and the mass of the dead were commemorative events designed to abbreviate the time that the souls of the dead had to spend in purgatory. They offered benefits to both the dead and to the living.<sup>59</sup>

The expanding population of Florence and the rapid increase in the number of the poor in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century—both important consequences of Florence's rise to supremacy—had immediate effects on Florentine burial practices. As population increased, the burial needs of the poor were being neglected, and various ecclesiastical leaders acted in official ways to remedy the problem. Theoretically, the burial of the poor was the responsibility of the local parish. It was common in Florence as it was elsewhere in Europe to reuse graves because of the paucity of space. In Florence this might have led to the neglect of the needs of the poor for proper burial. Since the Carolingian period the clergy had been consecrating cemeteries in Europe, and this practice clearly placed great pressure on the local clergy to reuse graves again and again. We know that at least in Germany church councils were requiring ossuaries in burial grounds, and charnel houses date at least from the 1160s. In Florence, the removal in 1296 of the cemetery of San Giovanni Evangelista between the baptistery and cathedral—necessitated by the major construction project of the new cathedral—placed greater pressure on the parishes to make room for their own dead. Perhaps it was for that reason that the episcopal constitutions of 1310 stipulated that parishes needed to provide for their own poor.<sup>60</sup> Unfortunately, some parishes had to be reminded periodically to do so. For example, in 1369, the statutes of San Lorenzo reiterated the 1310 obligation that local clergy had the responsibility to bury their less fortunate residents.<sup>61</sup>

The commune also recognized its own pastoral obligation to take care of another set of undesirables: prisoners. It stipulated by statute that it would pay the rector of the urban parish of San Simone sixty lire each year to minister to the prisoners in the city prison (the Stinche) and to administer the sacraments (“sacramenta concédât et offitia in missis et aliis faciat secundum ritum Ecclesie”). The commune itself would pay for the burial costs.<sup>62</sup>

## Burial Choices

A study of burial choices can sometimes reveal trends in religious devotion over time. They indicated that although greater numbers of prosperous Florentines were choosing to be buried in mendicant friaries, the majority of Florentines were still being buried in their parish cemeteries. These trends reveal that Florentines were looking to both the secular and the mendicant clergy to assist them in their efforts to go to heaven, to avoid hell, and to spend as little time as possible in purgatory. Generally, throughout Europe, the place of burial was the parish of the deceased, and Florence was no exception. Burial choices, like religious practices as well, tended to be highly localized; they favored the local parish of the individual and his or her family, often close to the graves of loved ones and the shrines of local saints venerated as intermediaries. According to the constitutions of the Florentine diocese in 1310, no one could be buried outside his or her own parish unless he or she had expressed that wish in a public document before two or three witnesses.<sup>63</sup> Individuals therefore could choose a site for their burial other than their local parish, as long as they followed the proper procedure. The faithful registered their choices in one of two types of documents: in their testaments or in notarized documents that stipulated burial elections. Most likely, those who did not make a notarized choice (the majority of the population) simply were buried in their local parish. Therefore, for a select minority, burial election for a site other than one's parish was a pious choice, made for any variety of reasons. Perhaps there was a particular institution or clergyman who offered the most efficacious suffrages, or perhaps the testator was especially close to a churchman associated with a particular institution. On the basis of that freedom of choice, several historians have argued that the secular clergy lost significant amounts of burial fees and other types of revenue associated with burials to the friars in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Indeed, it is a commonplace assumption that the mendicant orders in Florence seriously undermined the privileges of parishes to burial rights and revenues. For that reason the diocesan constitution of 1327, guided by the papal bull *Super Cathedram*, required that one-third of all generic and indistinct legacies go to the parish and one-third of the bequests of a deceased person who opted to be buried in mendicant cemeteries go to the bishop.<sup>64</sup>

Is it correct to assume that the seculars were losing significant burial fees to the mendicants? This is an area that calls for further research. Although we

must recognize that from the early thirteenth century the mendicants were certainly attracting a growing number of burial elections that normally would have gone to the local parish, we must be careful not to exaggerate the losses suffered by the seculars. Most Florentines were still being buried in their local parishes, especially the poor, and even among those who stipulated a choice about their burial site, a third of those notarizing their choices still chose the cemetery of a local parish over a friary. Although seculars might have been losing greater *potential* income to the mendicants, they might have experienced an *actual* increase in their mortuary fees, since more and more people were moving into the city. While their actual income might have been increasing because the population of the dying was continuing to rise, their potential income was diminished by the popularity of the mendicants in the city. Florence was not unlike other dioceses. At Rieti, for example, the local population seems to have favored the cemeteries of the secular clergy. In his study of the church at Rieti, Robert Brentano examined thirty-three burial choices mentioned in the available documentation. Of that number nineteen (58 percent) chose the cathedral, and eight (24 percent) chose friaries.<sup>65</sup>

The majority of Florentines were still being buried in their parochial cemeteries. Of the 646 testaments in our sample (1250–1331), a third (212) designated a preference to be buried in a friary, and a seventh (98) documented a preference for the parish. Only half of these testaments actually indicated a burial choice, so we have to assume that the vast majority of our 646 testators—those who either stipulated no choice or those who designated the parish as their resting place—were going to be buried in a local parish cemetery. Let's look at the information more closely. The earliest documented burial choice on record dates from 1278: a man living in the city expressed the wish to be buried in a friary.<sup>66</sup> Out of 646 testaments, 327 people notarized their choices for burial site (51 percent). Of those, 270 urban residents expressed a choice (83 percent of all those indicating burial choices), and 57 rural inhabitants did so (17 percent). From 1278 to 1330, the majority of burial choices in the city and countryside combined were for friaries (212 out of 327, or 65 percent), but almost a third (98, or 30 percent) preferred to rest in the hallowed grounds of a parish church (either their own, a neighboring one, or a parish associated with their family). However, the large number of *pinzochere* near Santa Croce who chose the cemetery of that friary as their final resting place greatly inflates the percentage of those preferring a friary to a parish cemetery. Only 11 testators (2 percent) of the 646 chose to rest on the grounds of a monastery. Of the 270 urban residents, 181 of them (67 percent) chose burial in a friary; 69 (26 percent) at a parish cemetery. In the countryside, only five of 57 (9%) chose to be buried in a friary cemetery. The rest designated their parish and, in a few cases, a monastery. This trend is not surprising, since the friars operated primarily in the cities, not in the countryside, until around 1300. It is therefore worth noting that preference for burial in the mendicant convents was primarily an urban phenomenon, not a



rural one. This is particularly evident since the community of penitent women (*pinzochere*) living near Santa Croce made up almost half the total number of urban residents making a burial choice. At Santa Croce 126 people designated an election (47 percent of the 270 urban choices).<sup>67</sup> All but two of them selected the friary of Santa Croce as the final resting place. The two lone exceptions were choices made by a man and by a woman for the parishes of Santissimi Apostoli and Sant' Ambrogio, respectively.<sup>68</sup>

A fifth of all resident testators in the parish of San Lorenzo chose to be buried in a friary rather than in the church graveyard. With one in five parishioners of San Lorenzo choosing not to be buried in their parish church, the loss in mortuary income must have been significant. However, the parish cemetery was still the major preference for 80 percent of the documented parishioners choosing a burial site. In the protocol of Lando di Ubaldino, which represented activity in the parish of San Lorenzo in the third decade of the fourteenth century, we have 141 testaments by men and women, most of whom lived in the parish itself. Of those 141 testaments, 64 included burial choices (45 percent). Those residents living in that parish evenly split their choices of burial place: 29 (or 21 percent of all testators in the sample) chose to be buried in a parish cemetery (usually that of San Lorenzo), whereas 31 (22 percent) chose a friary. Four testators (3 percent) chose a monastery.

The canons at San Lorenzo were therefore certainly losing burial fees to the friars between 1250 and 1330. Furthermore, the canons were aware that they were losing income, and this was probably what prompted their conflict with the Hospitalers in 1276. However, on the basis of this sample, it does not appear that the loss of potential income was extensive enough to justify the argument that the level of their mortuary income was in *sharp* decline. We must assume that the majority of the parishioners at San Lorenzo (who left no testaments) were still continuing to be buried in the local parish. Furthermore, members of long-established lineages with close ties to the Florentine church continued to choose to be buried in the cathedral close to or near the altar of Saint Zenobius.<sup>69</sup> The mendicants might have been garnering a growing proportion of mortuary income, but the vast majority of the growing population in the city was still being buried in the cemeteries supervised by their local parish priest.

## Chapels and Tombs

Beginning at the end of the thirteenth century, the wealthy began to endow commemorative chapels and commission funerary monuments for themselves in the mendicant convents, but they also did so in the cathedral, the collegiate church of San Lorenzo, and in other parish churches. The appearance of these commemorative chapels and large memorial tombs marked a new development in the architectural and cultural history of the city. Made possible in their scale by the wealth now available to these men and their families, the



chapels and tombs were at least in part the products of the spiritual guilt associated with that growing prosperity: they served as the physical sites where masses could be celebrated and the Divine Office could be recited for the sake of the souls. In this way, private pious practices led to the embellishment of the city. As individuals and families with close economic and political connections to the papacy and the Angevins became more prosperous in an expanding economy, both men and women endowed chapels in which they called upon priests to offer suffrages to benefit the souls of their departed kinsmen and kinswomen. Chapels were the architectural settings in which the living could affect the individual eternal destinies of the dead by providing for masses, suffrages, and recitations of the Divine Office. As Paul Binski has noted, medieval tombs were more than memorials: by the late thirteenth century many of these tombs “acted on behalf of the dead to offer to the living remission from their time in Purgatory in exchange for prayers for the dead.”<sup>70</sup>

The appearance of commemorative chapels in Florence considerably predated the arrival of such chapels in other dioceses, including the diocese of Rieti. It was the bishop of Rieti, after all, who in 1318 brought the commemorative chapel to that southern diocese with an endowment of a hundred florins.<sup>71</sup> The Bardi, Peruzzi, and Baroncelli chapels in Santa Croce were among the most famous of the new chapels created at this time by families made rich by commerce and banking, but commemorative chapels appeared earliest in both secular and mendicant houses of worship.<sup>72</sup> Monumental tombs became increasingly common in Florence after 1275, even though there are traces of them as early as the eleventh century.<sup>73</sup> The first example of a testamentary legacy that provides for a tomb dates from 1278, when Brunetto del fu Arrigh-etti, of the parish of Santo Stefano in Pane, left a legacy for ten lire for both a tomb and a funeral.<sup>74</sup> The first commemorative chapel for which we have documentation dated from 1279, the year that Saverino di Jacopo of the parish of San Paolo made a bequest of fifty Pisan lire to the *opera* of a chapel for ill friars of the convent of Santa Croce.<sup>75</sup> A year later Roberto del fu Aldobrandino, a physician (*medico*), established two new chapels in the cathedral devoted to Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Matthew.<sup>76</sup> In San Lorenzo in 1295 Durante dei Anchioni, the resident of the parish of San Lorenzo with close ties to the canons, designated six hundred lire in his testament for a chaplain to pray for him and his family in San Lorenzo.<sup>77</sup> The function of all these legacies was to assure that a responsible priest regularly recited the liturgy of the hours and celebrated masses for the testator and his family.

By 1310 instructions for tomb construction were becoming increasingly elaborate, as wealthy male testators were leaving detailed, complex directions to their executors. This development occurred precisely when the city of Florence was at its most prosperous, a generation before the arrival of the Black Death. New lineages (the *gente nuova*) were entering the ranks of the

urban elite alongside the established elite, and new wealth generated by moneylending and commerce was fueling a major construction boom. For example, in 1310 Nerio del fu Guido del fu Nerio Berlingherio dei Caponsacchi, for example, donated thirteen *staiora* of land at Ronco to build an oratory and houses for religious persons to recite the Divine Office and masses for his wife and loved ones on feast days. Aside from Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, the list of feast days he preferred included the feast of Saint Gervase. In Florence, on December 3, 1320, Mandina (widow of Falco Buonaccorsi) included in her testament enough money to create a chapel in the church “dei pretoni” on the Via San Gallo with a painting of the Madonna. Five years later (1325), in a testament that included elaborate restrictions regarding its probation, Lapo del fu Consiglio of the parish of San Lorenzo gave the collegiate church land at Campi and half a house in the parish of Sant’Apollinare. They were part of a series of legacies, including the endowment of a chaplaincy in San Lorenzo, designed to pay for the recitation of the Divine Office and the celebration of the mass. In our final example, the cathedral canon, Giandonato di Guerrerio dei Giandonati, gave legacies for a chapel to Saints James and Lucia to be constructed at Cerbaia in the *piviere* of San Giovanni in Soana (Val di Pesa). These last two endowments underscore the close connections between city and countryside in the legacies, as wealthy donors often endowed urban chapels with rural property and rural chapels with urban property.<sup>78</sup>

The saints chosen by testators were not usually the major patron saints of the commune, Saints John, Zenobius, and Reparata. Included among the principal saints in these testaments, beside the Virgin Mary, were Saints Matthew, Lucia, Nicholas (Niccolò), Thomas Becket, Juliana, Martin, James (Jacopo), and Catherine the Martyr. Before 1300 there were altars in the cathedral of Santa Reparata dedicated to at least a few of them; specifically, to the Virgin Mary, Saint Matthew, Saint James (Jacopo), and Thomas Becket. The choice of Thomas Becket is particularly interesting, as his cult made its way to Florence by way of the commercial connections between the kingdom of England and Florence. There was an altar to Thomas the Martyr at Santa Maria Novella as well.<sup>79</sup>

By the 1320s wealthy male testators were leaving elaborate instructions for their tombs in the countryside as well as the city. In the Mugello, for example, in 1328, Lotto del fu Viviano da Vespignano left twenty-five lire and very explicit directions to his executor (the local prior), stipulating that two-thirds of the tomb was to be below ground and one-third above. Not only were testators like Lotto del fu Viviano interested in providing postmortem masses for themselves and their loved ones, but they also intended that their funerary monuments memorialize their lives for future generations. Many of these legacies subsidized the construction of new chapels in new mendicant friaries, and the wealth made available by the economic growth of the late thirteenth century allowed patrons to engage the finest artists in Italy. In the

closing years of the thirteenth century two individuals made legacies to Santa Croce. Talano di Pegolotto dei Gherardini made a bequest of a hundred lire for a chapel in the new church of Santa Croce. Lapa di Giuliano dei Rossi of the parish of Santa Maria sopr'Arno gave one hundred lire to subsidize the construction of a chapel in the choir of the new church. Not always did the mendicants follow through on testamentary requests, however. In at least one case, the Dominicans did not follow the will of a testator, Guardiania dei Tornaquinci. She wanted a chapel to Santa Catarina (Saint Catherine the Martyr) to be constructed next to the choir in which the friars could celebrate masses for her and her father (Nerio di Piero Guardi, parish of San Pancrazio). In 1303, observing that a chapel to Saint Catherine already existed, the friars used her two-hundred-florin legacy to build a wall.<sup>80</sup>

Regrettably, we have little or no documentation about the early creation of the most famous chapels in Florentine mendicant friaries, those in the two convents of Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce. In the Dominican friary of Santa Maria Novella, there were four chapels that flanked the rectangle-shaped choir. However, at Santa Croce, there were ten chapels that flanked a polygonal choir with a five-sided apse. In the fourteenth century, a visitor would find that the floor and walls of the Franciscan friary was covered with funerary monuments, banners, frescoes, and wax effigies. The Bardi Chapel (Cappella di San Francesco), endowed by Ridolfo dei Bardi, completed anywhere from 1310 to 1320, was decorated by Giotto. Donato Peruzzi, as stipulated in his 1292 testament, endowed the Peruzzi Chapel, which was completed about the same time. A third chapel, the Velluti, was completed perhaps between 1305 and 1310, and the Baroncelli was finished about 1328. Those choosing to locate the commemorative chapels of their families within mendicant institutions were therefore among the most prosperous members of the Florentine mercantile and banking elite.<sup>81</sup>

The special attention that many wealthy men—enriched by the rapid accumulation of mercantile and commercial wealth—devoted to the commissioning of monumental tombs stemmed from their own sense of place in the community. Both Jacob Burckhardt and Samuel Kline Cohn Jr. have drawn attention to graves as emblems of a yearning for individual fame and glory. In particular, Cohn has emphasized the importance of the development of a “cult of remembrance.” Whereas Burckhardt located the origin of a quest for fame in the character of the states of fourteenth century Italy, Cohn focused on the epidemic of plague in 1362 and 1363 as the crucial turning point in the emergence of a “cult of remembrance.” In Florence, by contrast, the increase in monumental tombs at the end of the thirteenth century seems directly connected to the social, economic, and political climate of a commune rapidly on the rise.<sup>82</sup>

The masculine worlds in which these men lived was commercial, competitive, and profit-oriented, and the legacies they designated for their tombs and chapels called attention to the roles they created for themselves and

their families in this expanding economy. Like women, they left legacies for postmortem masses and for the necessary equipment needed for the celebration of the mass to shorten the time they needed to spend in purgatory. However, they also wanted the chapels and tombs they built to remind future generations of the renown and prosperity they had acquired for themselves and their lineages in this life. For example, in 1310, Ubaldino del fu Manovello del Megliore, a resident of the parish of Santa Felicita, left numerous legacies (the bishop served as a witness to the drafting of his testatment). Among them were one hundred lire for a new altar in Santa Maria Novella for prayers for himself and his parents and kin, along with a new chalice and chasuble. At the altar was to be inscribed either his name or his image (it is not clear). Six years later, presumably after his death, his executor, the Dominican Friar Giovanni d'Oltrarno, entrusted Lapo del fu Ricevuto of the parish of San Lorenzo with 170 lire to construct the tomb and monument for Ubaldino. In 1329 Gherardo di Migli-ore di Guadagno dei Guadagni, parish of San Michele Visdomini, stipulated in a codicil to his testament that he wanted a new tomb in the family chapel in the Servite friary of Santissima Annunziata. Built by his father, the chapel was dedicated to Saint Martin. He wanted it covered by marble stones on which would appear the *figura* of Gherardo with these words: "Gherardus Miglioris Guadangni de Guadangnis de Florentia."<sup>83</sup> The commissioning of elaborate memorial tombs seems to have become more frequent from the end of the thirteenth century. Contemporary burial practices were promoting the development of a "cult of remembrance" among the males in thirteenth-century Florence who were creating the wealth that made the rise of Florence possible. In the Florentine testaments, there seems to have been a preoccupation with fame and public recognition much earlier than 1362, even though it was far less common in churches and cathedrals than it was to become after 1362. Indeed, the appearance of this tradition among a few elite individuals extended back to the late thirteenth century. The experience of the Black Death may have universalized and intensified this tradition throughout central Italy, but it did not create it. A "cult of remembrance" was therefore certainly in place in Florence by the late thirteenth century, and it was associated with the men who had benefited the most from the economic expansion of the previous half century.

## The Painted Image and Women's Spirituality

As funerary monuments became more noticeable in the major churches and friaries of the city, so did the popularity of painted images. Each was connected in complex ways to the desire on the part of many prosperous Florentines to avoid damnation, shorten time spent in purgatory, and connect with those holy intercessors who provided solace in a world undergoing rapid change and offered salvation in the next. The wealth that created such pangs

of guilt and anxiety ironically made the production of such art objects possible.<sup>84</sup> For women, belief in purgatory contributed to their strong affection for the painted image of saintly intercessors and of Christ himself. The tradition of artistic achievements established by Florentines from the end of the thirteenth century, shaped in no small way by the devotion of spiritual communities of women to the painted religious image, elevated the city to a position of unparalleled cultural influence relative to other communes.<sup>85</sup> Of particular importance to the religious life of both urban and rural Florentines—but especially women—were portrayals of the Virgin Mary and the Passion. This devotion to the Virgin's image was a heritage common to all the models of piety under discussion here, in particular those associated with the secular clergy, the mendicants (including female tertiaries), and the Benedictines. However, the veneration of images had particular resonance with the mendicants, rooted in the experience of Saint Francis himself with the crucified Christ at San Damiano. His own devotion to the Virgin and to the Passion in the early thirteenth century had inspired by the end of that century a heavy demand among the public for painted images.<sup>86</sup> In Florence, the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin from Mount Carmel (the Carmelites at Santa Maria del Carmine) were well known for their possession of a painted image of the Virgin. The images of the Virgin and the Passion spoke to a spirituality that emphasized the humanity of Christ and the intercessory powers of his mother to shorten time spent in purgatory. Dante's deliverance from the "dark wood" was possible only because the Virgin Mary, in Beatrice's words to Virgil, was "so concerned / for him I send you to, that for her sake / the strict decree is broken."<sup>87</sup>

The eight decades between 1250 and 1330 were among the most important in the history of European art, not to mention the history of Florentine art. The mendicant orders and the confraternities in particular helped popularize the use of devotional images as spiritual aids to accompany prayer and the administration of the sacraments. After 1260 they helped encourage the popularity of large paneled pictures of enthroned Madonnas throughout Tuscany. Two of the earliest surviving Tuscan images were Sienese. They are the *Madonna Enthroned* of Coppo di Marcovaldo, executed for the Servites in Siena at Santa Maria dei Servi in 1261, and the *Madonna* of Guido da Siena, completed for the Sienese confraternity of the Virgin and Saint Dominic at San Bernardino in 1262. Confraternities therefore exercised a central role in the propagation of the cult of the Virgin. Also important were the cultural connections with Sienese and Byzantine traditions of painting. For instance, the most well known altarpiece of a *laudesi* confraternity (the company of Santa Maria Novella) is the *Rucellai Madonna* (see [Figure 6](#)), commissioned by the company from the Sienese painter Duccio (himself, an artist influenced by Greek traditions). On April 15, 1285, the rectors of the confraternity of Saint Mary the Virgin of the church of Santa Maria Novella commissioned Duccio Buoninsegna "to paint a panel with the figure of Saint

Mary the Virgin and her omnipotent son and other figures” (*dictant tabulam pingere et ornare de figura béate Marie Virginis et eius omnipotentis filii et aliarum figurarum*). Two decades later Giotto completed his *Ognissanti Madonna*, designed for the church of the Ognissanti in Florence.<sup>88</sup>

Seven testaments in our sample of 646 for the period between 1250 and 1331 included legacies for painted images, and they testify to the growing popularity of these works, especially among women who were wealthy enough to leave legacies for them. Bequests that made provisions for painted images include the following: a Passion to be supervised by the monk Griffolo (1282), a narrative painting at Acone and an image of the Virgin at San Martino di Petroio (1302), an image of the Virgin Mary for San Martino di Timignano (1306), a fresco of the Madonna for the church of San Zanobi di Casignano (1309 or 1310), a painting of the Madonna for a new chapel of a church on the Via San Gallo (before whom the testator and her first husband would appear to be kneeling, dated 1320), an image of the majesty of God for a hospital on the Via San Gallo (1323), and two images of a man and horse commissioned by the widow of a notary in 1327.<sup>89</sup> Commonly included in these legacies was money for the purchase of oil for lamps. The lamps in the chapels provided light for the contemplation of the image during mass, the recitation of the liturgy of the hours, the offering of suffrages, or the singing of hymns of praise. In 1312, for example, Ricchuccio del fu Puccio, parish of Santa Maria Novella, left a large legacy to the captain of the *laudesi* of the convent to purchase oil that would continuously illuminate a crucifixion painted by Giotto and another image painted of the Virgin Mary.<sup>90</sup> Vestments for religious services were also often included. In 1318, for example, Masina di Piccino da Certaldo explicitly directed her executors to bury her in the Franciscan convent at Castelfiorentino and to use a specific kind of shroud for her burial that could later be used by priests in the mass.<sup>91</sup>

Women, especially wealthy widows, had a special connection to religious images. It is probable that many of them came from families enriched by usury, and they directed their legacies in such a way that time spent in purgatory would be shortened. Women were the first testators to leave monetary provisions in their testaments for painted images of Christ and the Virgin Mary and for narrative paintings. These earliest testamentary legacies, all by women, date from 1282 and 1302, respectively.<sup>92</sup> These and other examples suggest that wealthy women from the city and the countryside also brought a strong sense of concern and thoughtfulness for the welfare of their devotional communities to the drafting of their testaments. Around these images other women would pray and be given the sacrament of the Eucharist. On May 5, 1282, Donna Soletta, the daughter of Orlandino da Barbischio, the widow of Salvetto del Mel and a resident of the Chianti hill region near Florence, had a local notary write down her last will and testament. Like so many other testators, both male and female, she stipulated her place of burial: the abbey of San Michele in Poggio San Donato in the diocese of Siena.<sup>93</sup>

Among her many bequests were the following: forty soldi for the expenses associated with her burial, ten soldi for each monk in the abbey who would recite the Divine Office for her soul, five soldi to a hospital, five soldi to the bishopric of Siena, and a request for one hundred masses to be said for her soul and those of her family for one month after the day of her death. Among her requests, however, was a very unusual item: she gave three lire (*libras denarias*) to the abbey to pay for the creation of a picture of the Passion of Christ, to be supervised by the monk Griffolo.<sup>94</sup> It is unusual for a testament this early to not only designate the image to be painted, but also name the person in charge of its execution, Griffolo, a monk in the abbey. This legacy predated the contract for the *Rucellai Madonna* by three years, as the first corporate contract (between Duc-cio and the confraternity of Santa Maria Novella) dated from 1285.<sup>95</sup>

The second earliest testamentary legacy by a woman for a painted image, dated 1302, was for a painting of the Virgin Mary. In 1302, Giovanna, widowed wife of a certain Ubertino, left a large sum (two thousand florins) to be distributed by her executors to most of the monasteries and convents in Florence and its surrounding territory. She left five lire to have the image of the Virgin Mary painted in the rural church of San Martino di Petroio, and she left five lire to have the life of Saint James painted in the church of San Jacopo in the village of Acone. Another large sum (one hundred lire) went for the construction of an altar in the church of San Marco in the city of Florence in honor of the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist. She wanted daily mass to be sung there for her soul and the souls of her relatives and her daughter. To pay for these masses she gave another two thousand florins to the convent of San Giovanni Evangelista in Florence to buy property, the income from which would support two priests who would say masses at those altars.<sup>96</sup> Significantly, the testatrix went beyond simply calling for the image to be painted. In a gesture meant to comfort her own spiritual community, she stipulated that the painting should portray Mary “holding under her cloak her devotees.”<sup>97</sup> The legacy for the portrayal of the life of Saint James is the first found anywhere in central Italy that calls for a narrative painting before the Black Death in 1348.<sup>98</sup>

Images have always played a seminal role in medieval women’s spirituality.<sup>99</sup> Constrained and limited by the male priesthood, women were free to develop their own spirituality, but not under the circumstances or conditions of their own choosing. Three features of women’s spirituality help account for the special affection women had for the painted image: it helped them to visualize holy figures, it underscored their devotion to the Eucharist, and it allowed them to focus on the humanity of Christ. In the visions of Angela of Foligno (1248–1309), an Umbrian mystic who was a mentor to Ubertino da Cásale but had never visited Florence, these elements were all present. The painted image of Christ was central to her piety.<sup>100</sup> In 1298, Ubertino da Cásale underwent his own powerful conversion experience under



the influence of this woman of “ardent virtue.”<sup>101</sup> At the heart of a woman’s spiritual life therefore was the fervent desire to experience the humanity and the suffering of Christ. This was especially true as we move to the end of the thirteenth century, when an emphasis on mystical contemplation became an increasingly important aspect of the female model of spirituality.<sup>102</sup>

Women’s piety in Dante’s Florence, sustained by over sixty religious communities of women, generated significant demand for painted devotional images and thereby influenced the development of Florentine culture. The love of the image was connected, as were so many other aspects of Florentine piety, with a fervent desire to promote the spiritual well-being of communities of pious women and to be delivered from the physical death of the body, from time spent in purgatory, and from the spiritual deterioration of the soul. Florence nurtured and attracted many other outstanding female spiritual leaders, including Umiliana dei Cerchi (d. 1246) and Umiltà da Faenza (d. 1279). As a consequence, there existed in Florence a cultural climate sustained by women that encouraged minor anonymous artists as well as major craftsmen such as Giotto and Cimabue to push beyond the stylized Byzantine-influenced limits of their craft to create images for their contemplative needs. Such a legacy was already in evidence by the middle of the thirteenth century, as we can see from the special devotion that Umiliana had for the image of the Virgin. Her connection to the Virgin was linked in complex ways to the role that usury had played in the life of her family. Having rejected the wealth of her family and having pleaded with her husband before his death to return his ill-gotten gains, she turned to the Virgin Mary as the intercessor and protector, especially from death (both spiritual and material).

Umiliana dei Cerchi possessed a painted panel of the Virgin Mary that she held in special esteem. Writing shortly after her death in 1246, her hagiographer, Vito of Cortona, described an episode that occurred in Umiliana’s life after she lost her beloved daughter. Praying fervently before the image of the Virgin on the panel, Umiliana beseeched Mary to restore her daughter to life. At that point a child emerged from the panel, went to the dead girl, and blessed her. The dead daughter came back to life, and the child from the vision thereupon vanished. Vito of Cortona records in the anecdote that moments before her own death Umiliana saw a devil standing at her side. A friend of the saintly woman took the painted panel of the Virgin Mary and the crucified Christ and situated it on the chest of the dying woman. Upon seeing the panel, having been sprinkled with holy water amid the incense and burning candles, Umiliana ordered the demon to depart, which it did in a confused state of mind. The saint was then able to rest in peace.<sup>103</sup>

Umiliana’s devotion to the painted panel of the Virgin Mary and the crucified Christ was not uncommon among female mystic visionaries of the thirteenth century, especially in Florence. Perhaps their zeal for images that stimulated their meditative imaginations played a role in the dramatic changes

in the visual arts at the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>104</sup> Perhaps women's piety played a significant role in this development. As medieval historians increasingly examine testaments for insights into the world of the medieval dead, they should pay particular attention to the inclusion of sacred images in the legacies left by women. Perhaps these legacies played a hitherto neglected and formative role in the development of the visual arts in the later Middle Ages.<sup>105</sup>

The legacies of Florentine men and women for artistic productions enriched and embellished their native city, helping to transform it into one of the most culturally vibrant cities in Europe. Tombs, commemorative chapels, and images invited the living to intercede for the souls of the departed; specifically, to shorten their time in purgatory. Their production offered some solace to those enriched by evil (usury) that they and their kinsmen would indeed be saved. Yet, the gendered nature of these testamentary legacies left by men and women reveal to us that males and females tended to think differently about the nature of community in Dante's Florence. Both genders sought salvation and the prayers of others, but each used art in different ways to achieve those goals. Whereas males tended to leave money for commemorative chapels, monumental graves, and altars with their names inscribed on them, women tended to prefer devotional images of the Virgin Mary and the Passion.

Were women really free to choose to leave legacies for images? Were they able to leave legacies for tombs for themselves? There was no prohibition in ecclesiastical law preventing women from funding tombs, if they so wished. In the *Liber Sextus*, the collection of church law published in 1298, the relevant section (*titulus*), "De Sepulturis," made no such prohibition. The issues addressed there had to do primarily with burial elections. Nothing in canon law prevented a woman from leaving a legacy for a tomb. Were there any legal constraints on the choices of these women to dispose of their property as they wished? It is true that of all the communes of Tuscany, Florence probably had the strongest patrilineal tradition. Brothers, husbands, uncles, sons, or their male legal guardian (*mundualdus*) certainly were able to shape the testamentary choices of many Florentine women, perhaps more so than in other communes. Nevertheless, we should note that both Donna Soletta and Giovanna were widows, with more freedom to dispose of their property (including their original dowries) than they would have had if they were still married. We should also note that aside from their dowries, these widows had access to nondotal assets that they might have brought into the marriage, over which they exercised some control. We already know that religious paintings had a special place in female piety. Consequently, the reasons these women chose to make legacies for images instead of tombs were apparently cultural, not legal.<sup>106</sup>

Whereas men designated legacies for projects designed to imprint their names and those of their lineages in the minds of contemporary rivals and

later generations of men, women, on the other hand, tended to focus their attention on liturgical equipment and devotional images, intending thereby to benefit the spiritual needs of their communities. The choices that men and women made about what legacies to leave can tell us a great deal about the different ways that each gender thought about community in Dante's Florence. Whereas men focused on the commercial and competitive community that they dominated, women preferred to channel their energies toward their devotional communities, located within the churches or monasteries where they and their friends worshipped.<sup>107</sup> This was the cultural environment in which Dante Alighieri wrote the *Commedia*: a world obsessed with the spiritually corrosive effects of rapid, newfound wealth, and a world that assumed the centrality of the physicality of the body to notions of selfhood and identity. In many ways, Dante gave voice to both notions of community expressed in these legacies. Whereas his men (at least in the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*) are often competitive and combative, his women—Mary and Beatrice, in particular—are models of devotion, compassion, and intercession.

### Religious Life in the Public Sphere

## The Liturgical Calendar and Religious Feasts

Though tombs, chapels, and painted images were private in nature, they were often located in public spaces, arenas that served as the settings for liturgical experience.<sup>108</sup> Religious life in the public sphere had at least three purposes in Dante's Florence: it promoted and maintained a proper relationship between the commune and its holy intercessors, it maintained order and resolved conflicts, and it aided individual Florentines to find their own personal salvation. As Florence rose to prominence in Italy, it embraced a higher category of saint; though Minias, Zenobius, and Reparata retained Florentine affection, the commune elevated to the highest rank of its pantheon Saint John and the Virgin Mary, holy individuals who were close to Christ himself. This shift was evident at least by 1300, when Saint Reparata seemed to have lost her altar in the new cathedral and the Virgin Mary assumed the preeminent position. Florence was now a beloved commune of the Baptist and of the Mother of God, an embodiment of God's will on earth.<sup>109</sup>

Liturgy refers to the official public rites and prayers of the church, divided into daily, weekly, and annual cycles. It includes the celebration of the mass and the recitation of the Divine Office. A fundamental purpose of liturgical practices, therefore, was to prepare the living soul for the death of the body and to gain merit in this life so as to shorten the time spent in purgatory.<sup>110</sup> Many of our Florentine testators left legacies devoted to the provision of funds for the recitation of the Divine Office by priests or friars for the sake of their souls and the souls of their kin. Sung during the day and night, these were eight services of prayers, readings, psalms, canticles, and antiphons.<sup>111</sup>

Its practice began in monastic communities, but eventually by the later Middle Ages parish priests were beginning to recite the office appropriate for the particular time of the year at least once a day. Laymen were often present at the worship services. The monastic hours (*horarium*) at which these services took place were at eight various intervals of the day and night: matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline. Matins was the night office. The Divine Office was also divided into weekly as well as yearly cycles. In other words, there were specific readings and prayers connected to the periods that led to the principal celebrations of the Christian liturgical calendar.<sup>112</sup> For secular priests such as Bene di Nero or Stefano de Broy (or rather, the cathedral chapter chaplains who were supervised by him), the purpose of the daily recitation of the Divine Office, or liturgy of the hours, was to glorify God and to contemplate the meaning of Scripture. When they did so in memory of those faithful who left legacies for its recitation, they helped gain merit for the donors and their families, abbreviating time spent in purgatory.

Unfortunately, it is very difficult to recreate the daily public liturgical experience of the medieval Florentine. Only one text (a missal) dates from before 1100; three written sources survive from the twelfth century, a sacramentary, a midcentury antiphonary, a description of liturgical ritual (a *libro ordinario*, the *Ritus in ecclesia servandi*); and one survives from the thirteenth, a *libro ordinario*, the *Mores et consuetudines canonice Florentine*. For the fourteenth century there are two antiphonaries (one from circa 1330), a gradual (circa 1330), three missals (one from circa 1330 and another from 1342), an epistolary, a breviary, and a Psalter/hymnary.<sup>113</sup>

The annual cycle of the liturgical life of urban Florentines focused on the three principal feasts of the year: Christmas (December 25, led up to by the liturgical period of Advent), Easter (which ended the season of Lent, the forty-day period of preparation), and Pentecost (the seventh Sunday after Easter).<sup>114</sup> Both Easter and Christmas were feasts with celebrations on their octaves (the days that were exactly a week later), and celebrations took place on all the days within the octave as well. The octave of Christmas, for example, was January 1, and the seventh Sunday after Easter was Pentecost Sunday. Trinity Sunday, the first Sunday after Pentecost, was a day to celebrate and glorify the mystery of the Trinity (the threefold revelation of God).<sup>115</sup> However, there were also numerous feasts celebrated in the city that were closely associated with saints deemed especially important to the Florentines.

Of that number the feasts dedicated to the patron saints of the city—the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (August 15), Saint John (June 24), Saints Philip and James (Filippo and Jacopo, May 11), Saint Zenobius (May 25), and Saint Reparata (October 8)—were among the most important.<sup>116</sup> Also included in lists of the principal patrons of the city were Saints Thomas à Becket (December 29), Ambrose (December 7), Vincent (January 22), and Agatha (February 5), the protector against fire.<sup>117</sup> Among the lives (*Vitae*) of

saints preserved in a manuscript in the Laurentian library (BLF Plúteo 27, códice 1), presumably for regular use by the canons of San Lorenzo, were Saints Thomas à Becket of Canterbury, Catharine, Ambrogio, Zenobius, and Mark.<sup>118</sup> All in all, there were at least fifty-six religious feasts celebrated in the course of the annual liturgical calendar.

Ritual processions were so common in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Florence that there were probably few weeks when a Florentine did not encounter at least one procession in the street, especially in the area around the cathedral and Baptistery. Their purposes were complex. They maintained the proper relationship between the commune and their patron saints, a relationship that was particularly important during the periods of war and grain shortages (1315, 1325, 1328–30). They helped instill in Florentines the proper respect for and understanding of the principal patron saints of the city. They contributed to the resolution of disputes, even though on occasion ritual processions were opportunities for already existing conflicts to become more intense. During most of the important liturgical events, a Florentine experienced the ringing of bells, the smell of burning candles, the sight of clerical processions and candlelit altars, the celebration of masses, the recitation of the Divine Office, and the preaching of sermons by the bishop or canons. There were regular processions associated with particular feast days and special processions that occurred only on unique occasions (such as when a special diplomat or papal representative arrived in the city). On the occasion of the major feasts and processions, the clergy treated the public to impressively orchestrated spectacles. Throughout the liturgical year, Florentines expected to hear the continual ringing of bells, which accompanied the services and called the clergy and public to worship. Furthermore, on the feast days of the most significant saints (such as Zenobius and Reparata), the clergy decorated the altars of those saints with numerous candles. The entire clergy of the city was expected to celebrate the principal feast days, in particular those of Saint Zenobius, Saint Reparata, Christmas, and Easter.

A Florentine living in the urban parish of San Simone (Dante's parish) around 1300, for example, would begin her calendar year (March 25) with a celebration of the feast of the Annunciation.<sup>119</sup> This was the first day of the year, Florentine old style. The forty days of Lent took up most of the early spring and ended at Easter. On Palm Sunday the clergy proceeded the short distance from the Baptistery of San Giovanni to Santa Reparata, where they presented olive branches and celebrated mass on the altar of the saint (see Map 2).<sup>120</sup> On Palm Sunday mass was sung at the altar of Saint John the Evangelist in the Baptistery of San Giovanni, and the canons hosted the bishop at a meal. On Easter the bishop celebrated mass in the cathedral, and he was supposed to preach there as well. All the canons then joined the bishop for a common meal, which he was supposed to host. On the second, third, and fourth days (*feria*) after Easter, the clergy and people proceeded from San

Giovanni to Santa Reparata, where mass was celebrated in both places. Then, everyone walked to the convent of San Pier Maggiore, where the canons were to preach.<sup>121</sup> Pentecost, the date of which varied from year to year, the seventh Sunday after Easter, followed shortly thereafter. On the three days following Pentecost, the canons of Santa Reparata processed through the streets of Florence on a separate route each day. The course of those processions, however, linked the principal ecclesiastical sites of the city: the cathedral complex, San Lorenzo, San Pier Maggiore, and San Miniato al Monte (see Map 2).<sup>122</sup> On Trinity Sunday the canons recited the office and rang four bells three times.

During the worship services for the feast of Mark the Evangelist (April 25), members of the clergy proceeded from the altar of Saint Mark in the cathedral to the Baptistery. Then, they continued their procession to the basilica of San Lorenzo, where a sermon was preached before they returned to the cathedral. On May 11, the joint feast day of Saints Philip and James the Less (Filippo and Jacopo), the clergy recited the Divine Office and celebrated mass in the Baptistery before proceeding to the altar of Saint Mark in the cathedral. There, before a sermon delivered by the bishop (or a canon, if the bishop was absent), the canons removed the relics of Saint Philip (the arm, obtained in 1204) from the altar of Saint Mark (where it was kept). Saint Philip traditionally was the protector of souls. The clergy then moved from the cathedral back to the Baptistery to celebrate a mass, at the conclusion of which the clergy displayed to the public the arm and recited the appropriate office. The next principal celebration occurred on May 25, the feast day of Saint Zenobius. The entire clergy was involved in this event. At the altar of the saint in the cathedral, the site of his grave, the clergy recited the Divine Office and celebrated mass, followed by a public sermon by the bishop (or his representative). Then, they all proceeded to the Baptistery for a recitation of the office.

A month later was one of the most important celebrations of the year, the nativity of Saint John the Baptist (June 24).<sup>123</sup> After the recitation of the office and the singing of two masses in the cathedral, the canons celebrated another mass at the altar of Saint Matthew. Then, after a sermon by the bishop and another mass, the clergy made their way to the Baptistery. The next principal feast followed two months later: the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (August 15). On the feast day of Saint Reparata (October 8), the canons embellished and decorated the altar of the saint in the cathedral with candles and covered the choir with laurel. The celebration of the feast day of Saint Minias (October 25) included a mass, recitation of the office, and procession to the altar of Saint Zenobius. On All Saints' Day (November 1), the canons recited the Divine Office for the dead and celebrated mass at the altar of Saint Zenobius. On the feast of Saint Andrew the Apostle (Andrea) on November 30 the cathedral canons proceeded from San Giovanni to the church of Sant'-Andrea in Foro Vetere to recite the Divine Office and

celebrate mass.

Florentines also celebrated the season of Advent, which commemorated the coming of Christ. It culminated of course on Christmas day. On that day the clergy gathered at San Giovanni to recite the office at terce. They then proceeded to the cathedral for a celebration of the mass with the bishop, followed by a meal shared with him. During Christmas festivities the canons also recited the Divine Office at several altars, including those of Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Zenobius. An altar to Saint Thomas à Becket existed in the cathedral, and a celebration of his feast with a mass occurred on December 29. Saint Vincent was one of the patron saints of the bishopric, and his feast was celebrated January 22. On February 2 (Candlemas), the clergy celebrated the feast of the Purification of the Virgin with a procession into the Baptistry of San Giovanni. One of the longest of the processions on the liturgical calendar occurred on the feast day of the martyred third-century Sicilian saint Agatha (February 5), the protector against the ravages of fire. It began with a ritual procession with the image of the saint and a cross, and it went to all four quarters of the city. Participants first stopped at the Porta San Piero, where a canon sang one of four gospels. They then proceeded to the Ponte Vecchio (for another *Evangelia*, or gospel, sung by a canon of San Piero Scheraggio), the Ponte alla Carraia (gospel sung by a chaplain from the church of San Pancrazio), and the Porta San Giovanni (the fourth and last gospel, sung by a chaplain of the cathedral). They finished at Santa Reparata, where they celebrated mass at the altar of that saint, which sheltered the relics of Saint Agatha.<sup>124</sup> Some of the other ritual processions of the clergy described by chroniclers, unlike the ones described above, occurred when special representatives of the papacy arrived to encourage peacemaking activities. For example, in October of 1279, when Cardinal Latino arrived in the city to bring to an end to the feuds between the Adimari and Tosinghi/Donati factions and to reconcile the Guelfs and Ghibellines, he was greeted with a procession of the political and religious authorities of the city.<sup>125</sup>

One of the most important processions in Florentine ritual life was the ceremonial entry of a new bishop into the city. Its functions were many: it formally and solemnly introduced the new bishop to Florentines and sought to establish his legitimacy. It also established a clear historical and charismatic connection between the new prelate and Saint Zenobius by reenacting Zenobius' entry into the city, and it emphasized that the power and legitimacy of the bishop derived from Rome. The procession began at the southern gate of the city through which the road to Rome passed, emphasizing the point that the bishop drew his legitimacy from Rome (see Map 2). It included a stop at the convent of San Pier Maggiore (another connection to Saint Peter), where the bishop and the abbess were ceremoniously married, marking the union of the bishop and his diocese. From there, the bishop followed the present-day Borgo degli Albizzi, where he stopped at the traditional spot (the Geniculum) where Zenobius supposedly brought a dead boy to life. Then, he proceeded to



the sacramental center of the city, the cathedral complex.<sup>126</sup>

The procession of Bishop Jacopo dei Rainussi da Perugia in 1286 occurred after the long episcopal vacancy between 1274 and 1286, and it was the first documented episcopal procession of this type. It was supposed to heal the divisions within the cathedral chapter and within the city between the Tosinghi and Adimari factions. However, it actually led to more conflict between them, as they disagreed over whether the mass should be celebrated in the Baptistery (where the Tosinghi, associated with the bishopric, wanted it) or the cathedral (preferred by the canons and the Adimari). The bishop decided to have the mass in Santa Reparata, which effectively diminished the status of the Tosinghi. It is likely that it was precisely the intention of the new prelate to lower the standing of the Tosinghi, who had for the past twelve years controlled the episcopal estate.<sup>127</sup> In Florence, the bishop, the cathedral chapter, and the convent of San Pier Maggiore were key participants in the ritual entry of the new bishop into the city. The rules about who possessed particular rights during the event were fluid and indeterminate. Like so many other ritual occasions in the city, it offered an opportunity to heal factional divisions, made intense by the opportunities for rapid upward social mobility. However, like so many other rituals, this occasion could also provide an opportunity for trouble, especially if one party wished to diminish the privileges of another.

During ritual entries between 1286 and 1309, disputes and conflicts often erupted to reveal fissures in the social fabric. In 1302, the abbess of San Pier Maggiore protested to the bishop that the Visdomini and Tosinghi had no right to the ritual meal (*prandium*) with Bishop Lottieri Tosinghi when he stopped at the convent during his entry. Also, she claimed the bishop owed her a sapphire ring during the occasion.<sup>128</sup> In 1309, there was a major argument between the convent of San Pier Maggiore and a mother and son (Decca and Lamberto di Sale). The dispute was over rights to the saddle and bridle of the new bishop after he had dismounted from his horse in the Piazza San Maggiore. The procurator of the family of Decca argued that her family had possessed the right to receive the saddle and bridle from at least the time of Bishop Andrea Mozzi (1286). The court of the *podestà* intervened to settle the dispute in 1309 to preserve public order, and a public notary observed that it did so to prevent future threats to social peace. It decided that Decca and her son had the right to take the saddle and bridle (“essere in possessione vel quasi predicti iuris percipiendi [predictum frenum et sellam]”). The convent of San Pier Maggiore had failed to prove its case. At stake for Decca and her son was their local status in the neighborhood as participants in a major ritual procession; for the convent, possession of the saddle and bridle represented its close relationship with the bishop and to the privileges that derived from that.<sup>129</sup> This incident reveals how important the honors and privileges associated with these ritual processions were to Florentines—both lay and religious—who lived in the central parishes.

# A Brief Chronology of the Cults of Saints and Models of Sanctity

Common to all of our eight paradigms of piety in the city was the fact that Florentines looked to a variety of saints as their intercessors with God and as their protectors during periods of crisis. The holy dead were powerful participants in the personal destinies of all Florentines. As Florence ascended to regional supremacy, it promoted to the center of its religious life a higher category of saint—Saint John and the Virgin Mary, in particular—a development that represented an elevated profile for the city in God’s plan on earth. These principal saints served not only to *protect* the city, but also to *legitimize* the right of the Guelf, guild-oriented magistrates to rule it.<sup>130</sup> Whereas Saint Minias was connected to the bishopric and to the Benedictine monastic tradition within the city, Saints Zenobius and John were associated primarily with the secular clergy, and the cult of Umiliana dei Cerchi with the Franciscan tertiar-ies. Not only did they serve as mediators between the laity and God on behalf of both the living and the dead, but they also provided models of behavior promoted by the secular, mendicant, and monastic clergies. In terms of chronological development, the celebration of the cults of Saints Minias, Reparata, and Zenobius preceded that of Saint John as the principal patrons of Florentine liturgical life.<sup>131</sup>

Many of the saints whose feast days were celebrated in the annual liturgical cycle were early Christian martyrs, and the presence of their cults in Florence harked back to the days of early Christianization. Minias (October 25) was traditionally the first Christian to die for his faith in Florence, a Roman soldier whose decapitated remains supposedly rested in the altar of the monastery of San Miniato al Monte (see Map 2). His cult emerged in the early eleventh century, promoted specifically by the bishops of Florence.<sup>132</sup> Saint Reparata (October 8), a legendary martyr in Asia Minor, was important to the early church because tradition held that on her feast day in the fifth century the city finally defeated invading Goths. Her cult is datable only to the sixth century, however. After the removal of the original name of the cathedral, San Salvatore, the principal church of Florence was consecrated to her. When Bishop Andrea dedicated an altar to her in the ninth century, he also probably obtained some of her relics from Lucca, according to Anna Benvenuti. There is no documentation before the tenth century, however, that the cathedral of Florence was dedicated to her. In 1352 several Florentine ambassadors convinced the lord of Teano, the southern Italian city where some of her remains were supposedly located, to pressure the nuns to relinquish a relic, and they obeyed. This was the circumstance that led Florentines to import the purported right arm of Saint Reparata in 1352, which turned out to be fake.<sup>133</sup>

Another saint who figures highly in surviving texts is Saint Vincent (January 22), a martyred deacon who supposedly lost his life (like Minias)

during the persecution of Diocletian in the early fourth century. He died supposedly having been roasted alive, a fate worse than that suffered by his decapitated contemporary, Minias. The story of the third-century Saint Agatha (February 5) follows the same paradigm common in the stories of many early female saints. Coming from a noble background, she rejected the sexual entreaties of a Roman official and suffered terrible mutilation and eventual death.<sup>134</sup>

Evidence for the cult of the fourth-century legendary founder of the Florentine church, Saint Zenobius (d. circa 429), emerges really for the first time in the city in the eleventh century. A favorite of the secular clergy, he appears in Florentine tradition as an outstanding protector of the church and city, whose intercessory powers were repeatedly invoked in periods of crisis. Dramatic developments in the elaboration of his cult seem to coincide with important moments in the history of Florence, including the eleventh-century reform movement, the reorganization and restructuring of the cathedral chapter, and the dearth of 1329. By the thirteenth century the celebration of his feast day, May 25, had become a major event in the Florentine liturgical calendar. Lorenzo, the archbishop of Amalfi, authored his first *vita* in the eleventh century.<sup>135</sup> According to the legend current in Dante's day and conveyed to us by Giovanni Villani, Zenobius had been the bishop ("uno santo padre") of Florence who, through his merits, had saved the city from the rampaging Goths. After his death many miracles were attributed to him. Along with his deacon and subdeacon, Saints Crescentius and Eugenius, he apparently rested in the church of Santa Reparata, even though he had originally been buried in San Lorenzo.<sup>136</sup> Florentines moved him to Santa Reparata for final burial sometime before the eleventh century. This translation, which might have occurred as early as the ninth century, was traditionally celebrated on January 27. During the procession, according to tradition, Saint Zenobius rose to touch a dead elm tree adjacent to the Baptistery. The elm, traditionally associated with death, turned green and burst into flower.<sup>137</sup> In Villani's day, as well as our own, a single column capped by a cross marked the spot where this miracle supposedly occurred.

We know very little indeed about the historical Zenobius. The legendary founder of the diocese, he appeared briefly in the early fifth-century *Vita Ambrosii* (Life of Ambrose) by Paulinus of Milan. According to tradition, he accompanied Saint Ambrose when he dedicated San Lorenzo in 394.<sup>138</sup> Villani wrote that he had connections to the bishopric (as founder of the Florentine church), San Lorenzo (the place of his death), the Baptistery (the site of his most famous miracle), and the cathedral chapter (Santa Reparata was his final burial site). Therefore, he had an advantage over other saints: he had links to the major religious centers of the secular clergy of the city. Furthermore, according to Florentine tradition, his merits were responsible for delivering the city from great adversities, symbolized by the miraculous coming back to life of the elm tree in the Piazza San Giovanni. Bishop

Antonio degli Orsi was responsible for reviving his cult, which coincided with the bishop's appointment in 1310 of a clerical commission to rationalize and reorganize the liturgy of the cathedral. His 1310 synodal constitution required the clergy to celebrate a feast day of a saint "whose merits had provided so many benefits not only to Florentines but also to others coming from other regions" (*ex cuius meritis incolis florentinis, et etiam venientibus aliis undecunque, proveniunt cotidie beneficia gratiarum*). Following the exhumation of Zanobius' body below the altar of the cathedral in 1331, the encasing of his head for processional purposes, and the reinterment of his body under the altar, the popularity of his cult intensified. The number of images of the saint produced by his confraternity increased markedly after 1331.<sup>139</sup>

The development of the official veneration of Saint John coincided with the emergence of Florence into the ranks of the foremost cities in Tuscany, and his cult grew more important as the commune gradually extended its reach into the countryside. Indeed, in the course of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, John the Baptist became the principal patron saint of the city, eclipsing in importance the memory of Zenobius.<sup>140</sup> The ceremonial submission of subject churches to the bishop on June 24 gradually expanded into a ritual of submission of subject rural communities to urban authorities. The first documented ceremony of this sort apparently dated from 1049, when churches and episcopal tenants were expressing their obedience to the bishopric. By the thirteenth century offerings to the saint as a representative of the commune had become more regularized. On the octave of the feast day leaseholders came to the city to pay their rents to the bishopric. In the twelfth century the Calimala guild became the principal patron of the Baptistery, the physical center of the saint's cult and the storage site of the communal war chariot, the *carroccio*. By the third decade of the fourteenth century, Saint John the Baptist had become the principal saint of the commune, eclipsing Saints Zenobius, Reparata, and Minias. Whereas the relics of Saint Zenobius rested in Santa Reparata, the commune did not obtain any relics of Saint John until 1393.<sup>141</sup>

At the end of the thirteenth century it was not uncommon for ecclesiastical documents to mention three saints: John the Baptist, Zenobius, and Reparata. By the early fourteenth century, a fourth patron had joined their ranks: the Virgin Mary.<sup>142</sup> Her cult cut across virtually all eight paradigms of piety mentioned in this chapter. Devotion to her is most evident in the *Commedia* of Dante, in which she intervenes on behalf of Dante to have him led through Hell, Purgatory, and eventually, to Paradise. In the *contado*, Impruneta became a very important center of her cult, especially in the second half of the fourteenth century. Though it most likely developed during a period of acute natural disasters (between the flood of 1333 and the plague of 1348), devotion to the Virgin Mary was probably already present at Impruneta during the period of this study.<sup>143</sup> The dedication of the cathedral to the Virgin was a

response to her growing popularity among the laity, and her reported curative miracles at Orsanmichele in 1292 no doubt aided the efforts to raise money for the new cathedral four years later. Much to the chagrin of the mendicants, the site, located at the urban grain market, became a focus of pilgrimage and devotion. Many gathered there to recount the stories of the miracles, leave wax votive images to commemorate them, sing hymns (*cantavano laude*), and make offerings to the poor. Villani wrote about the large amount of money that had been left for the poor from 1292 to his own day, and it seems apparent that the people saw the Virgin as a special protector of the impoverished. Perhaps it was the growing numbers of the poor in the Florence of Dante that made her cult so popular. In a sermon in 1306 at Santa Maria Novella, Giordano da Pisa observed that Saint Luke himself had painted an image of the Virgin Mary, which was then to be found in Rome.<sup>144</sup> She had a very special place in early fourteenth-century Florence.<sup>145</sup>

Florence also produced its own native-born holy dead. The cult of the Blessed Umiliana dei Cerchi (1219–46) was especially popular among female tertiaries of the Franciscan order and became a model of piety for all Florentines, especially women. Her memory among Florentines after her death helped deepen among women a penitential devotion to intense interior spiritual development, aided by images of the suffering Christ. The daughter of a banker, Umiliana had been married at sixteen to a member of a prosperous commercial family.<sup>146</sup> Shortly after her marriage, she devoted a considerable amount of her time—often over the objections of her own family—to various acts of piety and charity. Uncomfortable with the usury-produced prosperity that apparently came her way, she energetically took bread to the poor and helped take care of the sick. After her husband died and she returned to her father's tower, she refused the attempts of her family to have her marry again. Perhaps because her father feared she was going to give away her entire dowry to the poor and needy, he tricked her into transferring her dowry to him. Now impoverished, she lived out the rest of her days in a small room in her family tower, fasting, praying, and experiencing numerous mystical visions. Under the influence of her Franciscan mentors, Umiliana slowly shifted her attention away from charitable giving and increasingly toward mystical contemplation. As told by her contemporary biographer, the Franciscan Vito of Cortona, Umiliana was supposedly tormented by two serpents which had invaded her cell. To some later readers of her *vita*, they represented the exhortations of the secular clergy to leave her tower to ease the suffering of those in the world. Her expulsion of the snakes therefore symbolized her intense devotion to a model life of ascetic contemplation and disengagement. After her death (and burial in Santa Croce), the Franciscans encouraged the development of her cult in the city as a spiritual ideal worthy of imitation.<sup>147</sup>

The cult of Saint Thomas à Becket was also present in the city, probably imported by Florentine merchants and bankers working in the kingdom of

England in the middle of the thirteenth century. Thomas à Becket had suffered martyrdom in 1170 at the hands of the knights of King Henry II of England. His cult's popularity among Florentine merchant bankers reflected the international reach of Florentine commerce. Perhaps it also appealed to the secular clergy because Becket had fought for the independence of the church from secular authority. There were apparently many prosperous Florentine merchant bankers who had a special devotion to Thomas. For example, in his testament of 1308, Maso del fu Ruggerino dei Minerbetti named Saint Thomas, after God and the Virgin Mary, as the saint to whom he most entrusted his soul. He requested burial at the foot of the altar of Saint Thomas the Martyr in Santa Maria Novella, where lamps would burn continuously for the remedy and salvation of his soul ("ad pedem altaris beati Thome Martyris ubi lampas quedam apponantur et ardent continue pro anime sue remedio et salute"). He left a hefty bequest of thirty-four *staïora* of land at Villa San Donnino to subsidize the celebration of the feast day of the saint (December 29).<sup>148</sup> This was the same Maso who served in 1301 as one of two ambassadors from the commune to the papacy during the Black-White conflict. Dino Compagni, the chronicler and city leader, did not think highly of Maso. According to him, he was a false *popolano* who did not defend his own will but followed that of others.<sup>149</sup> Though untrusted by many of his compatriots, he resembled other members of merchant banking families by seeing Saint Thomas as a protector and intercessor. Although Saint Thomas apparently retained an altar in Santa Maria Novella, he lost the one in the cathedral sometime around 1300.<sup>150</sup>

## Sanctity in the Countryside

Most of the cults of saints that developed in the countryside during our period were indigenous to the *contado*, promoted and supported by the local secular clergy, not the urban clergy. The miracles associated with these holy dead were curative, and local residents venerated them as intercessors with God in matters associated with health. Here they shared common spiritual concerns with their urban counterparts like those who went to Orsanmichele after 1292 in search of curative miracles. The history of the cults of rural saints reveals a disconnection between city and countryside, but it also makes clear that the ties between the rural population and their secular clergy were strong. The dichotomy between urban and rural saints reflects a cultural autonomy of the countryside relative to the city at least through the first third of the fourteenth century, when direct urban jurisdiction over the *contado* was still only partial at best. Only in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century did the cults of urban saints really penetrate into rural areas, precisely at the time when the commune exerted more direct control over its countryside. Efforts to extend the administrative power of the city over its countryside were matched by an attempt by Bishop Antonio degli Orsi written into the 1310 synodal

constitution to require both city and *contado* to celebrate the feast day of Saint Zenobius.

Among the most important of cults in the countryside before 1330 were those of Verdiana (circa 1160/70–1222), Gherardo da Villamagna (d. 1242), Davanzato da Barberino (1200–1295, born at Semifonte), Torello da Poppi (d. 1282), and Vivaldo (d. 1301, buried in the church of Montaione near the major altar). As local cults emerged at the tombs of these holy dead with the reports of miracles, the local priests seem to have embraced them enthusiastically, along with their parishioners. This seems to have been particularly true in the cases of Verdiana, who pledged herself to God in the presence of the local archpriest, and Gherardo, whose processions were organized by the local clergy.<sup>151</sup>

The cults of these saints were centered at shrines on the sites of their graves. Made popular by numerous reports of curative miracles, these devotional traditions seem to have been in existence by the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. Verdiana, born in the late twelfth century, was from Castelfiorentino. Both she and Davanzato were associated closely with the Val d'Eisa, the fertile valley southwest of the city in which the bishopric held significant properties and rights. The reputations of these saints rapidly spread throughout the valley, generated by reports of the curative miracles associated with them. Even during her lifetime the reclusive Verdiana had attracted the attention of the local clergy. In fact, hearing of her spiritual virtue, Bishop Ardingo of Florence (1230–47) had visited her and talked for days with her about spiritual issues, according to her *vita*. Given the importance of the Val d'Eisa to the material concerns of the bishopric, it is not surprising that Bishop Ardingo made a trip to Castelfiorentino to visit a person who had become such a subject of attention. By 1300, two generations after her death, a shrine had emerged around her grave place, located in her former cell.

Other curative miracle stories emerged in the countryside associated with other rural saints. A miraculous cure at the tomb of Davanzato was attested in 1295. The miracles associated with Gherardo da Villamagna inspired numerous processions to his sanctuary (a church where his body was buried), led by the local parish priests. As his biographer mentioned, “many of the neighboring parishes began to form processions to honor and invoke this new saint.”<sup>152</sup> Saint James (Jacopo), probably James the Less, a disciple of Christ, was associated with Saint Philip (Filippo), and their joint feast day was May 11. His cult was one of the few that were present in both the countryside and the city. For example, a testator gave six lire for the story of Saint James to be portrayed in the church of San Jacopo in the village (*castro*) of Acone, located in the Val di Sieve northeast of Florence.<sup>153</sup> Few other urban cults were present in the countryside, with the exception of Saint Agatha.



# Preaching

Preaching in Dante's Florence responded to the cultural and spiritual challenges faced by a population experiencing hurried economic and political change. However, these dramatic changes in Florence also influenced the choice of themes that the preachers promoted. Preaching in public outdoor spaces (*piazze*) and in churches was frequent and common, especially during the principal feasts of the liturgical annual cycle described above and during periods of acute factional strife.<sup>154</sup> In a prosperous city in which political violence seemed common and the contrast between the rich and the poor was becoming more pronounced, the dominant themes in sermons concentrated on causes of those problems: the swelling ranks of the impoverished, the morally corrosive effects of usury, and explosive factional violence in the public sphere. To encourage a proper imitation of Christ (the ideal of the *imitatio Christi*), preachers presented a clear set of remedies. They urged repentance and popularized the notion of purgatory (directed specifically at those reeling from the guilt stemming from usury and the acquisition of wealth). They sermonized against usury (the engine that was behind the economic prosperity), and they urged charitable giving to care for the growing ranks of the indigent (through testamentary legacies and altar offerings).

There were certainly many occasions when members of the secular clergy were required to preach before the public, and these events offered them the opportunity to talk about the spiritual consequences of Florentine success. We know from the *Mores et consuetudines* of the thirteenth century that the cathedral canons were supposed to preach on certain holy days, including the feast days commemorating Saint Zenobius, the nativity of John the Baptist, Saint Reparata, Thomas à Becket, and Pentecost. They also were to preach on the second, third, and fourth *feria* (weekdays) of Easter. All in all, they were to preach about thirty-two times a year, especially during Lent and Advent.<sup>155</sup> The bishop was to preach and celebrate mass on similar or different days, including the feast days commemorating Saint Zenobius, Easter, Saint Luke, Saint Philip and James, Christmas, Pentecost, and the nativity of Saint John the Baptist.<sup>156</sup>

Unfortunately, only one sermon connected with the bishopric exists, but it is revealing: it addressed the theme of greed (*avarice*), a principal sin associated by the preachers with the Florentines. Greed helped to create the prosperity that Florentines enjoyed, but widening wealth also intensified its presence in social life. The sermon appears to be a 1325 text, preserved in the archiepiscopal archive. It is actually a copy of a sermon of the Venerable Bede, and it is preserved in a protocol filled with the records of rent payments. We cannot be sure if this sermon was ever preached. Perhaps Bindo da Calenzano had simply copied it into his records of rents for the use of the bishop or his household. It appears that it was identified with the second day (*feria*) after Easter, and it concerned a certain reading of several verses from

the gospel of Matthew. It is labeled as a homily of Bede, and it appears to have been written in early fourteenth-century hand.<sup>157</sup> According to the *Mores et consuetudines*, this was an important feast day, with masses said in both the Baptistery and Santa Reparara. A procession to the convent of San Pier Maggiore followed, which included the clergy and the people of Florence. There, as also on the third and fourth *feria* following, the canons were to preach, but they had the power to select someone else to preach the homily if they wished. This particular sermon combined the theme of the resurrection with a diatribe against greed, the principal target of ecclesiastical invective. The focus on avarice and evil will (*mala voluntas*) urged listeners to prepare themselves to appear before Christ the Judge at the final resurrection of the dead.<sup>158</sup>

Preaching was an area in which the friars excelled. In particular, their sermons contributed to the popularity of the idea of purgatory. They inveighed against the horrific effects of usury, urged generous charitable contributions, and promoted social peace at a time of social discord and factionalism. According to Boccaccio (b. 1313), the friars communicated their messages through humor and entertaining anecdotes: “And considering that the sermons preached by the friars to chastise the faults of men are nowadays filled, for the most part, with jests and quips and raillery, I concluded that the same sort of thing would be not out of place in my stories.”<sup>159</sup> The friars were therefore understandably popular among the public. Ubertino da Cásale (d. circa 1330), the friar and teacher (*lector*) at Santa Croce who later became the leader of the Spiritual Franciscans, was well known for his ardent sermons. Before 1400 Santa Maria del Carmine included forty preachers and twenty-one confessors, though not all lived in Florence all the time.<sup>160</sup> For the friars who came as papal legates to the city, sermons were opportunities to preside over the public reconciliation of warring parties. Whenever a papal legate arrived in the city on a diplomatic mission to end factional violence or to promote one particular side over another, he usually took his case to the people of the city. In 1279, for example, in the presence of religious and secular leaders (including the *podestà*, the bishop, and the captain of the people), Cardinal Latino preached “nobly and with great authority” to end the violence between Guelfs and Ghibellines and between the Tosinghi and Adimari. He preached from a beautifully timbered and decorated pulpit before the Florentine public in the old public square in front of Santa Maria Novella. At the end of his discourse he directed the representatives of the warring Guelf and Ghibelline factions to put aside their dispute with a kiss of peace.<sup>161</sup> Two decades later (in 1303/4) Pope Benedict sent his own legate, Niccolò da Prato, to Florence to bring an end to the Black-White dispute. A talented friar with a good knowledge of the Bible, the legate preached in the Piazza San Giovanni before the partially dismantled church of Santa Reparata to explain to the public why he had come. His mission was not as successful as that of Cardinal Latino. According to Villani, he left accused of siding with one faction, the Whites and the

The popularity of the friars as preachers created the need for more interior and exterior public space to accommodate the crowds that came to hear them. City planners therefore agreed to enlarge and embellish the friaries of Santa Maria Novella (after 1279) and Santa Croce (1294/95) and the *piazas* in front of them (see Map 2). In 1294 communal leaders decided to enlarge and rebuild the cathedral and its square (Piazza San Giovanni), which also served as a site for public outdoor sermons. The existing church of Santa Reparata was deemed too small in relation to the needs of the growing city. For the other side of the Arno in 1317, the commune supervised the creation of the piazza before the church and friary of Santa Maria del Carmine.<sup>163</sup> As the population of the city increased, the need for more space to accommodate the crowds coming to hear the sermons grew as well. Contributing to this growing popularity of mendicant preachers was the encouragement by the bishops of all members of *laudesi* companies to attend the sermons of mendicants for the purpose of religious education. For example, in 1288, Bishop Andrea Mozzi issued an indulgence to members of the confraternity of Santa Maria Novella who were present during the Lenten sermon cycle that year in the convent. The *laudesi* company of Orsanmichele invited Dominican preachers like Giordano da Pisa to preach in their piazza. We know that he was preaching at Orsanmichele as often as three times a month, and he was there in November of 1305 for the feasts of Saints Andrew, Cecilia, and Martin. Other confraternities also occasionally invited mendicant preachers. As John Henderson observed, the members of the company of San Zenobius chose its preachers for Lent from a variety of mendicant friaries, including Santa Maria del Carmine and Santo Spirito.<sup>164</sup>

The two most famous Dominican preachers, Giordano da Pisa and Remigio dei Girolami (d. 1319), were concerned and deeply troubled by the spiritual consequences of the newfound prosperity of the Florentines, and they preached repentance and charity. They focused their sermons on three major consequences of the ascent of their city to economic and political prominence: the sharp increase in the number of the poor in the streets, the reliance on the spiritually corrosive practice of usury, and the ever-widening cycle of violence associated with political factionalism. These themes should not surprise us, as all these issues were closely associated with the profit-making culture of Florence, the sudden growth of new wealth, and the exacerbation of partisan tensions. There are many surviving Dominican sermons from the time of Dante, but there are unfortunately no sermons left us by Franciscan friars.

The popularity of Giordano da Pisa is evident from the fact there are so many surviving manuscripts of his sermons, originally recorded by his eager listeners between 1302 and 1309. In one manuscript collection alone, there are 115 sermons. In all, over 700 sermons in the vernacular preached in the piazza before Santa Maria Novella survive. Among the principal targets of his

sermons were usury and heresy. At least twelve passages condemned usury severely. Apparently, although he believed that Catharism was over, he remained very concerned about the popularity of the heretical ideas associated with Fra Dolcino in northern Italy and the possibilities for their spread to Tuscany.<sup>165</sup> Along with his contemporary Dominican Remigio dei Girolami, he identified with the Black Guelph cause. He also called for civic peace and the end of vendettas in the city. In one sermon, for example, preached at the installation of a new *podestà* in 1304, he apparently argued for tolerance. It is wise, he suggested, for those who seek social peace to find ways to enlarge a house to embrace more people. His *Credo* cycle of sermons, preached in 1305, were apparently models of discourse and rhetoric. Bearing the influence of Aquinas, they laid out for his audience the basic beliefs of orthodox Christianity.<sup>166</sup>

Remigio dei Girolami also addressed the origins and remedies of factionalism, and he was an original early fourteenth-century political theorist who did much to popularize the need of the individual to submit his will to the Florentine state. His sermons emphasized the centrality of the idea of purgatory in Christian belief. Though thematically very varied, his work bore the influence of the Aristotelianism of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274). He was a *lector* at Santa Maria Novella, where he taught from about 1273 to 1319. When the friary became a *Studium generale* (most likely in 1305, but definitely by 1311), Remigio became a *lector principalis*. He was popular not only with the public. Members of the Florentine ruling elite also valued his ideas, which tended to legitimize their rule. He stressed as a remedy for factionalism the need for the individual to obey the commune (which embodied the public good). He preached sermons on at least five occasions before the governing body of the city, the Signoria, coinciding with special occasions such as major political events and receptions.<sup>167</sup> Of all the public mendicant preachers, he probably did the most to popularize the notion of purgatory among Florentines—both as a way to urge immediate repentance and as a way to offer hope to repentant moneylenders. He produced many memorial sermons, including those on Philip the Fair and Louis X of France, in which purgatory was a principal theme. In 1296 he preached a panegyric for Alcampo Abbadinghi, canon of the cathedral chapter, collector of the papal tenth, and patron of Stefano de Broy. According to D. L. D'Avray, memorial sermons like those preached by Remigio were “liturgical commemorations of the dead.” Only from the early fourteenth century do we begin to find large numbers of such sermons in honor of dead princes (sermons on the dead—*de mortuis*—also emerge at the same time). These memorial sermons tended to glorify the character of the person, stress the brevity of human existence, and draw attention to those suffering in purgatory.<sup>168</sup> We are fortunate that he kept a personal account of his work, including information about his sermons, tracts, and classroom resources. According to his principal historian, Remigio's work underscores the

pragmatic nature of Dominican education; that is, it was above all geared toward transforming students into friars and preachers. This was not yet the kind of environment that stressed the study of classical texts for its own sake.<sup>169</sup>

## Charity

A significant aspect of Florentine piety was charity. Not only did charity provide for the needs of the poor and marginal—those either left out of the fruits of prosperity or those made poor because of it—but it also helped prevent social disorder at a time of major economic transformations. For the more fortunate, charity was a good work that helped shorten time spent in purgatory. Its importance to Florentines was exemplified by the public subsidies for the poor provided by the commune, the charitable distributions of confraternities like Orsanmichele, and the charitable legacies of individuals. As Florence emerged economically, politically, and militarily as the most powerful commune in Tuscany, charity at home maintained social peace and manifested Christian ideals. All three sources of aid responded to the spiritual demands placed on Christians by Scripture and their preachers. Many were also genuinely responding to the challenges posed by the growing ranks of the poor in the city and (on the part of urban authorities) to the potential threats to civic order and peace. As a result, the income of charitable institutions like the confraternity of Orsanmichele increased through the early fourteenth century (Orsanmichele's actually tripled). Alarm at the widening numbers of the poor explains why between 1294 and 1333 the recipients of charity shifted from the "religious poor" (those who managed ecclesiastical institutions caring for the poor) to the laity itself.<sup>170</sup> For the preacher Giordano da Pisa, a man who vigorously condemned usury in numerous sermons, it was a fundamental responsibility of the rich to care for the poor. On the feast day of Saint Martin at Orsanmichele, for example, Giordano encouraged charitable giving as a spiritually healthy exercise.<sup>171</sup>

The commune itself was a source of charitable giving. Its primary concern was to preempt the emergence of the kinds of social conditions that could lead to riots, especially since the price of grain continued to rise in the early fourteenth century.<sup>172</sup> Specifically, to prevent disorder, it supported individual charities (like confraternities), provided two thousand lire annually to ecclesiastical institutions for charitable distributions, and worked energetically to make sure that the city was properly provisioned with grain at all times. This became especially important during the dearth of 1329, when the commune acted to help make sure that more charity and grain were available to those who needed them. Communal policies helped to subsidize ecclesiastical institutions, such as the confraternity of Orsanmichele. In the interests of social stability, they also encouraged many pious testators, like the unnamed man in Villani's chronicle, to increase their level of charitable grants

and legacies to the poor.<sup>173</sup>

Ecclesiastical institutions such as confraternities, hospitals, and monasteries were the principal distributors of poor relief in the city, and their contributions far exceeded the modest communal subsidy of two thousand lire a year. The activities of the confraternity of Orsanmichele, whose records regarding poor relief began in 1294, allow us to examine how charitable contributions by these ecclesiastical institutions in Dante's Florence actually worked.<sup>174</sup> Foremost among those designated as recipients of relief in the 1294 statutes of the confraternity were the professional poor, the *pauperes Christi*. According to John Henderson, by 1333, when the statutes were revised, the principal focus had shifted from the "professional poor" to the laity; that is, from ecclesiastical institutions to specific individuals. This change might have resulted from the steady erosion of living standards that dated from the early 1320s.<sup>175</sup>

The confraternity distributed charity in two ways: it provided a five-soldi subsidy, and it also often made larger payments (*limosine suggellate*) to targeted categories of the poor, such as orphans or widows. According to Henderson, between 1294 and 1333, the annual income of the confraternity had tripled, allowing it to make contributions to the poor that were six times larger than the sum expended by the commune. The captains of the confraternity supervised the distributions at least once a year, with the vast majority of charity going to urban dwellers and very little going to residents of the countryside.<sup>176</sup> Orsanmichele apparently played an especially important role during the dearth of 1329, a year when the price of wheat skyrocketed and standards of living plummeted. Although no records survive from this period, there is indirect evidence that the involvement of the confraternity in this crisis was significant. Specifically, the commune designated the confraternity as the principal distributor of half the charitable subsidy of the commune, and it also provided it with the means to acquire more income.<sup>177</sup> City leaders must have been aware that generous charitable disbursements would encourage more immigration from the countryside.

## A Dissenting Religious Tradition: The Spirituals

For several Franciscan friars, the material successes of their order in Florence—living within this environment of economic wealth for some and growing poverty for others—were at variance with the ideals of their founder. The physical and institutional expansion taking place at Santa Croce and at other Franciscan friaries and the success at garnering burial fees and testamentary legacies were in sharp conflict with that original model. A heritage of dissent, another of our principal models of piety in the Florence of Dante, therefore slowly developed within several Florentine friaries between 1287 and 1312. Not only did these Franciscan dissenters (Spirituals) take issue with the direction of their order, but they also called into question the role of the

church itself in the construction of cities like Florence into the ranks of the powerful. As newfound wealth was flooding into the mendicant friaries in the form of mortuary income and testamentary legacies—precisely when Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella were also becoming major centers of learning—the city and its environs became a center of discontent among a small but influential number of Tuscan Franciscan dissidents. Indeed, one historian has called Florence a center of heretical agitation, particularly with regard to the emergence of the zealot wing of the Franciscan order, the Spirituals. This may be an overstatement, but it is certainly true that the two most important leaders of the Spiritual Franciscans, Pietro Olivi (1248/49–1298) and Ubertino da Cásale (1259-circa 1330), spent formative phases of their careers in Florence. The cultural environment of the commune in the 1280s shaped their thinking in important ways. Though the Spiritual Franciscans were strongest outside Florence in southern France and southern Italy, they drew on ideas and convictions that were at least in part confirmed and generated in Florence after Olivi's arrival in 1287. The history of the Spirituals is now well known and well told. It is not the aim of this book to recount that narrative. Rather, this section will explore the presence of this legacy of dissent in Florence and its environs in the early fourteenth century.<sup>178</sup>

For those Franciscans called zealots (or Spirituals), the message of the first and second rules and the testament of Saint Francis (d. 1226) had established a very clear mandate: they were to imitate Christ literally by embracing absolute poverty in possession and in use.<sup>179</sup> They rejected the attempts of the papacy to adapt the rules to the needs of society. They argued that by responding to the demands of an expanding order, the papacy had mitigated the meaning of the mission of the founder. *Quo elongati* (1230) had allowed the friars to appoint trustees to handle money and property; *Ordinem vestrum* (1245) had situated ownership of mendicant property in the hands of the papacy; and *Exiit qui seminat* (1279) had reaffirmed papal ownership and the ideal of apostolic poverty.<sup>180</sup> Pietro Olivi, a native of Provence, argued instead that friars should go beyond mere poverty of possession; to be true to the apostolic ideal, they should embrace a poverty of use (*usus pauper*) and live a life of austerity. As teacher, or *lector*, at Narbonne, he presented these ideas through the publication of his “Questions on Evangelical Perfection.”<sup>181</sup> The minister general of the order, Bonagratia da San Giovanni in Persiceto, submitted this work to a commission of theologians in Paris for examination. In 1283 that commission censored his views and declared them erroneous, and Olivi found his work confiscated and banned.<sup>182</sup> At the general chapter meeting in 1287 at Montpellier, Olivi was able to explain his views regarding *usus pauper* in detail. Apparently, some of the leaders of the order, in particular the minister general, Matthew of Aquasparta, accepted his perspectives as orthodox and worked to prevent his complete marginalization and condemnation by the authorities.<sup>183</sup> In 1287 Pietro Olivi moved to Florence as a *lector* at Santa Croce, appointed to the



post by his minister general, Matthew of Acquasparta himself. He was to remain there until 1289, which was when he returned to teach in Provence at Montpellier.

In the two years that he lived at the friary of Santa Croce, he authored a number of works that continued to develop his ideas on “poor use” (*usus pauper*): a commentary on the Franciscan rule, a confession delivered at the general chapter meeting at Montpellier in 1287 that clarified his definition of “poor use,” and another confession in which he argued that friars should not restrict their use of possessions so severely that they endangered their health.<sup>184</sup> The mendicant community in which Olivi lived in Florence at the time was growing in terms of personnel and wealth. Several other mendicant bodies, such as the Servites (1250), the friars of the sack (1259), and the Carmelites (1268) had already settled in the city, and their numbers were becoming more numerous. When Olivi arrived in 1287, new construction on the Dominican friary of Santa Maria Novella had already been underway for eight years. Furthermore, as the number of notarized testaments left by Florentines continued to grow, the friars were continuing to benefit from the bequests contained in them. Of the more than thirty-eight documented testators who left surviving testaments between 1254 and 1289, eighteen left at least one legacy to the friars (as opposed to fifteen, who left at least one legacy to the secular clergy).<sup>185</sup>

The most charismatic of those colleagues attracted to Olivi’s views was Ubertino da Cásale. He had most likely met Olivi in 1287 in Florence. Ubertino later wrote that his life changed when he met him. A native of Genoa, Ubertino had entered the order in 1273 or 1274 and had studied theology at Paris before returning to Italy. Ubertino had been serving as *lector* at Santa Croce since 1285, preceeding Olivi as a resident of the city by two years. Even before Olivi arrived, Ubertino had been sympathetic to the more radical interpretation of the Franciscan ideal than that accepted by the minister general. When he arrived in Florence, Olivi exposed Ubertino to the intellectual legacy associated with the work of Joachim da Fiore. When Olivi left Florence, so did Ubertino. Between 1298 and 1302 Ubertino devoted himself to a life of preaching, which took him throughout Umbria and Tuscany. It was perhaps during this period (particularly in 1298) that he came under the influence of the Umbrian mystic Angela of Foligno.<sup>186</sup>

The Council of Vienne, meeting in 1311, eventually condemned many of Olivi’s ideas on poor use but did not mention the scholar himself. Clement V’s bull *Exivi de paradiso* (1312) explored solutions to the growing split over this issue within the Franciscan order, but the pope seemed to embrace neither side in the controversy. A group of renegade Spirituals from Florence, Arezzo, and Siena thereupon took matters into their own hands. They seized several convents in 1312 near Florence (Carmignano), at Arezzo, and in Asciano. There were apparently at least eighty of them, and they were from Tuscany and elsewhere in Italy. At least one came from southern France.

According to a letter written by Angelo da Clareno, a leader of the Spirituals in the Marches, the bishops of Tuscany had been repressing the Spirituals for some time, a factor that may help explain why a rebellion had occurred in that year.<sup>187</sup> The ecclesiastical hierarchy acted quickly to end the revolt, forcing the rebel friars to flee to southern France, Sicily, and (later) Tunis. The papacy directed the bishop of Florence, Antonio degli Orsi, and the Franciscan inquisitor to proceed against the rebels. In 1313, the pope then turned to the bishops of Lucca, Genoa, and Bologna to try to force the rebels to submit and to retake the seized convents. Finally, in May of 1314, Bernard, the prior of San Fedele in Siena, the person charged by the pope to handle the rebels, released a sentence of excommunication against thirty-seven of them.<sup>188</sup> Seeking to escape, some Tuscan dissidents chose to flee to the Spiritual communities in southern France. Others Tuscan dissidents were part of the group of forty-nine radicals who eventually fled to Sicily to seek protection in the court of Frederick of Sicily. Led by Henry of Ceva, they attempted to create a community that was consistent with their interpretation of the rule. In the letter they wrote to Frederick in 1313, these friars detailed their complaints against the order. They argued it was contrary to the rule for the friars to be involved in the burial of anyone without the goodwill of the local bishop, the execution of testaments, the restitution of ill-gotten gains, and the adjudication of legal cases.<sup>189</sup> Frederick eventually acquiesced to their request for protection, despite the appeals of Clement V to expel them. After receiving a letter from the king of Aragon about the circumstances surrounding his decision to host the Tuscan rebels, Frederick replied that he did so because he believed it his Christian duty to shelter people he deemed good Christians.<sup>190</sup>

In the 1318 bull *Gloriosam ecclesiam*, the pope condemned the Tuscan Spirituals and urged the bishops of Sicily to proceed against them. A year later, Olivi's commentary on the Apocalypse, the last work of his life, was condemned by a papal commission. John XXII proceeded in 1322 and 1323 to impose a radical solution to the problem: *Ad conditorem canonum* (1322) withdrew papal ownership of mendicant property, and *Cum inter nonnullos* (1323) declared the notion of apostolic poverty heretical. Circumstantial evidence indicates that Olivi (and perhaps also Ubertino) had helped inspire the dissident faction of friars within the Florentine Franciscan community, at least in the friaries of Santa Croce and Carmignano, between 1287 and 1312. The 1318 papal bull *Gloriosam ecclesiam* contains a listing of the theological beliefs of these Tuscan Spirituals. According to the bull, the dissident friars (Fratricelli) believed the church had become a "carnal church" (*ecclesia carnalis*) and that they alone constituted the true "spiritual church" (*ecclesia spiritualis*). The spirit of these views found an echo in the political writings and poetry of the contemporary Florentine Dante Alighieri, especially in the closing cantos of the canticle the *Purgatorio*.<sup>191</sup> For many citizens like Dante, a true adherence to the model of the imitation of Christ required the

church itself to be poor in material possessions and power. However, like the renegade Tuscan friars, he was a minority voice, and he had to flee into exile. For many other Florentines, especially those within the elite, the proper exercise of piety was synonymous with loyalty to the commune and its Guelf heritage. That is our eighth and final model of piety, the subject of our next chapter.

That the commune of Florence was a chosen instrument of God's will on earth was a theme that had become increasingly evident in Florentine political, literary, and visual culture after the middle of the thirteenth century. This was a claim common to other communes as well, including Brescia, Bologna, and Siena, which saw in their own patron saints Petronius (Bologna) and the Virgin (Siena) the signs of divine favor. However, the commune of Florence seemed especially to many contemporaries of Dante to be a New Jerusalem. The rapidity by which Florence had become the foremost city in Tuscany was a sure sign of God's special blessing.<sup>1</sup> Two significant religious events separated by a century demonstrate this conviction quite well. The first was the translation of the relics of Umiliana dei Cerchi into the modest church of Santa Croce on the feast day of Saint Donatus in 1246. The second, two generations later, was the recovery in 1331 of the relics (the head, in particular) of Saint Zenobius under the altar of the new cathedral. Both public events inspired donations for construction projects: Santa Croce and the cathedral, respectively. From the standpoint of a contemporary Florentine in 1331, both episodes also came to represent, celebrate, and embody Guelf ideas, beliefs that linked together religious orthodoxy, Florentine mercantile and commercial interests, and papal and Angevin strategies on the peninsula. The veneration of both saints literally and figuratively had constructive effects on the development of the commune as the primary city in Tuscany.<sup>2</sup>

Few modern accounts of the general history of Florence try to integrate the role of the Florentine church into the narrative of the political and fiscal history of the commune. Yet, ecclesiastical institutions, personnel, and traditions were integral to the emergence of Florence as the supreme power of central Italy. The relationship between religious institutions and the commune was a very complicated one. The church was not a monolithic institution that consistently cooperated with the policies of the principal magistracies of the commune, nor was it a unified set of institutions that regularly clashed with urban government. Rather, the relationship was characterized by a creative tension that sometimes manifested itself as sharp conflict and at other times as close collaboration. It was an unequal but generally collaborative partnership, especially after 1285. Adding to this complexity was the fact that specific ecclesiastical entities did not always agree among themselves, as their interests often diverged and differed. Nevertheless, the church played

constructive roles in the development of the Florentine commune in several distinctive ways. With regard to the governance of the commune, ecclesiastical communities maintained a vexed but collaborative relationship with the secular elite throughout the period of this study, providing both leadership and models of administration for the commune. Ecclesiastical institutions, architecture, personnel, and traditions also served to promote and defend Guelph political ideology and religious orthodoxy, both deemed essential to the stability and order of the commune. By so doing, they contributed to the political legitimization of a fragile post-1266 political order. Furthermore, by facilitating the formation of an urban-dominated territorial *dominium* at the end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, the bishopric and cathedral chapter contributed to the economic and political domination of the countryside by Florence—an important step toward the creation of the territorial state that would come later.<sup>3</sup>

Between 1250 and 1331, relations among the Florentine clergy, the papacy, and the commune were fraught with conflict. In those eighty years there were at least nine sets of papal interdicts directed against the commune.<sup>4</sup> It would be wrong, however, to characterize that relationship as exclusively fractious. Indeed, although the commune was certainly the dominant party, the relationship was a partnership, albeit an uneasy one. The story of the relationship between the commune and the church in matters regarding ecclesiastical liberty and taxation is well known, and it is unnecessary to review that history here. It involved a number of major events during the period of the Primo Popolo: controversy between the commune and the papacy (which supported Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini) regarding the jurisdiction of the strategically located convent of Sant'Ellero (1255–57), division between the cathedral chapter (opponent) and the bishop (supporter) regarding the communal taxation of ecclesiastical institutions (1257 and 1258), attempts to force the clergy to submit to civil jurisdiction (1257), and efforts to subordinate urban hospitals to public authorities (1255–57). Rather than offer an exhaustive overview of church-commune relations between 1250 and 1330, this chapter will focus on four aspects of the Florentine church that shaped the development of the commune in distinctive ways: the resistance by the clergy in 1285 to communal legislation against so-called “fictitious clergy,” the role of the cults of saints in the promotion of the myth of Florence as a chosen city of God, the function of the inquisition against heresy in the repression of political and religious dissent, and the involvement of church lords in the construction of a Florentine *dominium*. Each of these facets of ecclesiastical life was integral to the development of the stable and increasingly powerful regime that came to preside over Florence in the generation before the Black Death.<sup>5</sup>

### The Legislative Campaign Against “Fictitious Clergy”

The outcome of the conflict between the commune and clergy in 1285 over legislation targeting “fictitious clerks” defined church-commune relations for decades. On one hand, it effectively curtailed the legal sovereignty of ecclesiastical courts in matters involving alleged “pseudo priests,” placing those issues in communal courts. On the other hand, the resistance to this communal legislation on the part of the clergy helped establish a legacy of clerical defiance against communal initiatives for the future. After 1285 the commune clearly dominated ecclesiastical institutions in matters of governance, but it could do so only within certain limits. The relationship between commune and church was henceforth asymmetrical, favoring the secular elite, but a tradition of clerical resistance made it certain that this partnership had to be collaborative.

In 1285, as the principal urban magistracies were moving against the magnates, communal leaders also adopted statutes targeting social groups whom they stigmatized as threats to public order. These included clergy who carried arms and other persons accused of crimes who sought criminal immunity by fictitiously claiming to be priests. Similar to antimagnate legislation passed in the same decade, the legislation held kinsmen of violators accountable for the actions of their relatives. Identifying this new menace, the Signoria adopted legislation in 1285 against these “pseudo” or “fictitious clergy.” Specifically, “fictitious priests” were men who were perpetrators of illegal activities in the fields of commerce or banking—capable of violence, fraud, and intimidation against their enemies—who hid behind their purported status as clerks to claim immunity from prosecution by the civil courts. The move in Florence against these alleged pseudo-priests occurred as similar measures were being passed elsewhere, indicating that the magistrates and public notaries of the various communes—Pistoia (1282), Bologna (1285), Bergamo (1286), and San Gimignano (1290)—were probably in close communication.<sup>6</sup>

The clergy, represented by the cathedral chapter, took its case for clerical immunity to the papacy. As a response, an ad hoc communal commission meeting in Santa Croce recommended that harsh measures be imposed against them. Imitating measures adopted three years earlier in Pistoia (1282), which itself followed the example of the commune of Reggio Emilia (1280), the commission proposed a “boycott” of the clergy: it suggested that no one may house a clerk, no public official may offer any protection, no artisan may render any churchman any services, and no one may work on a priest’s land, unless the clergy withdraw its suit.<sup>7</sup> An interdict, an excommunication of communal officials, and a refusal to administer the sacraments were the responses of the clergy, acting essentially for the first time as a corporate body led by the cathedral chapter (the bishopric was at that time still vacant). The reaction of the clergy constituted what Richard Trexler has called a “clerical strike.”<sup>8</sup> In October several magistrates like the judge (*iudex*) Bardo Angiolieri were urging their colleagues to send an ambassador to the papal curia to

explain that “what the clergy was doing was against the commune and the people of Florence.” In the same month the *podestà* was proposing that no concord be finalized until the clergy had first lifted its excommunication and withdrawn its lawsuit. A papal legate arrived in November of 1285, but an accord between the commune and the clergy had already been reached before he could begin his work.<sup>9</sup> Issued by the cathedral chapter, the guidelines of the 1285 accord with the *podestà* against “fictitious clerks” became inserted in the 1325 Statuto del Podestà, and they regulated the treatment of alleged “pseudo-clerks” in criminal and civil matters for many years to come.<sup>10</sup> In 1290 and 1291, for example, the Consiglio dei Cento refused to release from prison four men whom it suspected were not real priests, despite the claims of the bishop.<sup>11</sup>

The campaign against allegedly false and criminal clergy in Florence appears to have been motivated by genuine concerns on the part of the magistrates of the city about commercial fraud, perpetrated by men who were claiming ecclesiastical privileges by pretending to be clerics. This campaign also offered an opportunity to the new (post-1282) regime to shore up its legitimacy and to expand its power at the expense of a divided church, weakened by a seven-year episcopal vacancy. By proceeding against the so-called false clergy, the ruling elite of Florence sought to appeal to the loyalty of urban merchants and bankers whose allegiances to the new government of the *popolo* might still have remained uncertain.

The Florentines also seem to have learned from their counterparts in Pistoia and Reggio Emilia that anticlerical measures like these served as a distraction for the populace at a time of acute food shortages and extreme fiscal pressures. In 1280 the citizens of Reggio found themselves saddled with significant public debts, only two years after suffering through severe grain shortages. To shore up its fragile political support, the commune of Reggio criticized the clergy for oppressing the people through their collection of tithes and proclaimed that after 1280 the payment of tithes would be voluntary. In Pistoia, in 1282, the countryside was also suffering through a significant grain shortage, and military expenses were significantly increasing the tax burden. The commune threatened to require the citizens of Pistoia to avoid having any economic relations with the clergy unless the latter ended its oppressive collection of tithes. Three years later, in a year when there was also a grain shortage (1285), Florentine legislators followed the examples of Reggio and Pistoia by advocating an economic boycott of the clergy unless it agreed to the legislation on fictitious priests. In all three cases, the clergy served as a common enemy around which the mercantile magistrates of the three communes could rally. Seen in this light, the anticlerical legislation in Florence, as at Reggio in 1280 and Pistoia in 1282, was perhaps more political and ideological in orientation than it was legal.<sup>12</sup>

The 1285 statute and the edict issued by the cathedral chapter in 1286 regarding “pseudo-clerks” set the tone for the political direction for the next



half century, as the commune continued to force ecclesiastical institutions and personnel to submit to communal jurisdiction in criminal, fiscal, and civil matters. The next major step taken by communal legislators to circumscribe ecclesiastical liberties took place in 1291 and 1292—again, prompted by an actual event. In 1291 the commune passed complicated legislation that sharply constrained by statute the power of ecclesiastical courts to dispose of landed property. In this regard, the provision built on a previous statute from 1225 that forbade anyone from using papal authorization to assume rights on Florentine ecclesiastical property. What prompted this legislation in 1291 was an appeal to the papal court against the commune by some members of the clergy. Serving as guarantors for two members of the Cantimori family, who held the contract to collect *gabelle* on foodstuffs, these churchmen claimed exemption for their partners from the payment of communal taxes. The next year the legislators passed a more severe limitation on the ability of churchmen to acquire immobile property. With so many laymen engaged in the buying and selling of church property at this time, these measures functioned to eliminate the jurisdictional confusion between two separate spheres of justice and made it easier for lay investors to acquire church property. The next serious phase of conflict between the clergy and the commune occurred in the 1323 and 1326, when the secular clergy resisted paying subsidies for the new ring of walls for the city. As was the case in the 1250s, the ecclesiastical community split over the issue of taxation: members of the secular clergy opposed it, while the papacy and the bishop tended to support it. Between 1250 and 1330 the problem of ecclesiastical taxation was always a class issue: whereas the secular clergy generally opposed it, the upper ranks of the church were willing occasionally to support it if it served their political or economic interests vis-à-vis the commune.<sup>13</sup>

In each of these phases of conflict and collaboration, a corporate body of the clergy had emerged to protect its interests. The cathedral chapter opposed taxation and antiecclesiastical legislation (1257, 1285); the clergy of Fiesole resisted paying subsidies for the cathedral project (1299). The Badia opposed the imposition of subsidies (1307), and the congregation of the clergy complained about the wall subsidies and *gabelle* (1323, 1326). This legacy of resistance did not prevent taxation or the weakening of ecclesiastical courts in relation to civil courts, but it did shape the nature of final legislation and the final amount of the subsidies paid by the clergy. For example, opposition in 1257 and 1285 from the cathedral clergy led to a compromise with communal magistrates; in 1299 the actions of the clergy of Fiesole probably precipitated the transfer of their bishop; in 1307 the actions of the Badia helped force the commune to reduce its impost on the clergy by one-half; and in the 1320s opposition from an organized body of the secular clergy forced the pope to back down from his original full support for communal subsidies, resulting in a significant paring down of what the clergy eventually paid.<sup>14</sup> It is also likely that this determined, collective, and organized effort of the lower ranks of the

secular clergy against the wall subsidy in 1323 and the *gabelle* in 1326 exerted a direct influence on the 1327 synodal constitution of Bishop Francesco dei Silvestri da Cingoli. As in 1310, it declared illegal the communal legislation that adversely affected ecclesiastical liberty. In the constitution of 1327, the bishop declared the 1285 edict of the cathedral chapter on fictitious priests null and void and threatened anyone who violated ecclesiastical liberty with excommunication. Furthermore, under the rubric *de testamentis et ultimis voluntatibus*, the constitution of Bishop Francesco dei Silvestri da Cingoli stipulated that one-third of all generic and indistinct testamentary legacies left for pious causes be paid to the bishop. Although the bishop faced opposition from the commune, which appealed to the papal court, he had responded to his clergy by offering a robust defense of their interests.<sup>15</sup>

In this uneasy yet collaborative relationship forged between 1250 and 1330, churchmen served in important public administrative posts. In this regard, the Florentine clergy were not unlike the clergy in other communes. In 1250, for example, the principal magistrates of the city of Milan had charged the Umiliati with the responsibility of collecting the *gabelle* of the commune, which increasingly became the most important source of revenue for the commune. Five years later, in Florence, the leaders of the Primo Popolo had replaced laymen with religious as treasurers (*camerlinghi*) of the commune. Monks also managed the money of the commune throughout the period of this study. There were two treasuries in the commune, both instituted in 1250: the Camera del Popolo and the Camera del Comune. By 1256 the Cistercians of Settimo and the Umiliati of Ognissanti were both serving as urban treasurers.<sup>16</sup> By the early fourteenth century the two institutions of the treasury had developed into the Camera Generale and the Camera dell'Arme. Cistercian lay brothers (*conversi*) from Settimo were in charge of the Camera dell'Arme after 1312, which was located in the new Palazzo del Popolo on its first floor. They managed the warehouse in the communal palace where the commune stored arms and military supplies, and they were responsible for making income reports to urban officials. Cistercian administrators also managed official communal salaries. From 1308 the Cistercians from Settimo were the holders of the communal seal and the dispensers of salaries to urban officials.<sup>17</sup>

Collaboration between religious and secular authorities is also evident in the area of public legislation. The urban magistracies sought to resolve through legislative action a number of issues of common concern. The Statute of the Captain of the People (Statuto del Capitano del Popolo), compiled between 1322 and 1325, acknowledged that conflicts over church offices and properties between magnate lineages and other members of the elite continued to pose a threat to public order. Therefore, several rubrics specifically extended the protection of the captain of the people to ecclesiastical institutions. Laymen and church patrons who occupied ecclesiastical property

had to abandon it within a month or face sanctions.<sup>18</sup> The captain of the people also extended his protection over churches, religious places, and hospitals that were invaded or occupied. Such protection also applied to monasteries and nuns. Two rubrics brought the full weight of the commune (through the *podestà*) to bear on suspected heretics who threatened public order. One required the arrest of a heretic within eight days after his condemnation by the bishop, and another rubric banned Fraticelli from the territory of Florence.<sup>19</sup>

Mindful of the disputes during the episcopal vacancy of 1274–86, rubric 78 of liber 5 forbade any Florentine magnate from standing for election to the bishoprics of Florence or Fiesole. To make sure this was observed, it called on public officials (the priors and the vexillifer iustitiae, or standard-bearer of justice) to lobby the papacy to respect this statute whenever a new vacancy occurred. The clear intent of the legislation was to prevent the “scandals, dissensions, and schisms between citizens and residents of the *contado* and district of Florence that have arisen in both ancient and modern times regarding the Florentine and Fiesolean bishoprics.”<sup>20</sup> Members of magnate lineages, however, continued to stand for election in the early decades of the fourteenth century, notwithstanding the existence of this statute. Although communal leaders had no means to enforce their will on the papacy, they indicated very clearly through this legislation that competition over the bishopric was exacerbating the rivalries between magnate lineages. Furthermore, in another effort to preserve the public peace, the *podestà* was supposed to punish any citizen who caused a disturbance in the episcopal palace or who otherwise offended the bishop verbally in his palace or elsewhere (liber 3, rubric 6).<sup>21</sup> The passage of such a variety of laws to promote order and security with regard to ecclesiastical institutions and property helped strengthen the collaborative though unequal partnership between the political and ecclesiastical leadership. Both constituencies—secular and religious leaders—had a common concern to promote order, stability, and ideological conformity by seeking to control the causes of factionalism, partisan violence, and heterodoxy.

## Political Ideology and Communal Saints

The contributions of the Florentine church to the development of the commune were not only administrative; they were also ideological. The ruling elite of the city drew on established religious traditions to help construct a set of pro-Guelf, guild-based beliefs that underscored the legitimacy of the post-1266 regime. If there is one significant difference between Florence and Venice regarding the roles of civic ritual in the commune, it is the rapidity with which Florentine public traditions were constructed after 1266 to take on a legitimizing purpose.<sup>22</sup> Ecclesiastical processions and rituals, as well as reports of miracles and the cults of saints helped identify the commune as an

instrument of God's will, underscore the importance of ties with the papacy, and protect the commune from misfortune by linking the veneration of specific saints to the welfare of the city and its people. They helped stabilize the post-1266 Guelf regime by providing ideological justification, and they promoted social peace among warring factions. They also served in times of war and famine to shore up a political regime whose legitimacy was still under question. In 1248, for example, according to Giovanni Villani, the Ghibellines attempted to demolish the tower of the Guelfs (the Guardamorto) near the Piazza San Giovanni, where prominent Guelfs were buried (the *buona gente*). Instead of falling on the Baptistry of San Giovanni, as was intended, the tower fell to the right of the piazza. Villani, ever the loyal Guelf partisan, interpreted the miraculous event as emblematic of the favor shown by Saint John to the city. It was an event that propagandists like Villani interpreted as a signal that augured the demise of Ghibelline power in the city.<sup>23</sup>

Many of the cults of saints associated with the city—including those connected with Umiliana, John, Barnabas, and Zenobius—had strong connections with the Guelf party. For example, after the Ghibelline *podestà*, Frederick of Antioch (son of Frederick II), had condemned a pro-Guelf companion of Umiliana to be hung, the rope apparently broke three times. Many saw it as a sign of divine disfavor toward Frederick. In 1246, the miraculous intervention of Umiliana supposedly rescued a papal emissary (*nuntius*) from a Ghibelline prison in Florence, controlled by that same *podestà*, Frederick of Antioch.<sup>24</sup>

Reports of other urban miracles underscored the legitimacy of the Guelf regime. According to Giovanni Villani, in 1257 or 1258, while celebrating the Eucharist in a chapel in Paris near the king's chamber, a priest presided over a miracle in which a small and beautiful boy appeared in the hands of the priest instead of the host.<sup>25</sup> Shortly thereafter, in 1258, the people of Florence expelled the Ghibellines from the city. For Villani and other contemporaries, in hindsight, the report of this miracle simply confirmed the justice and legitimacy of the Ghibelline expulsion and the eventual triumph of the Guelf regime in 1267.<sup>26</sup> The appearance of a comet a few years before had signaled the importance of the imminent entry of Charles of Anjou into the Guelf city of Florence.<sup>27</sup> In 1297 Pope Boniface VIII had King Louis IX of France, the brother of this former Angevin and pro-Guelf king of Naples and Sicily, canonized a saint. It was a significant event for the elite of the city, which was after all at the center of the Angevin-Guelf alliance, and important enough for Villani to merit mention in his chronicle.<sup>28</sup>

The veneration of Saint John, along with the Virgin Mary, was the most important of the communally sponsored cults, and their celebration encouraged social peace and allegiance to the Guelf regime and its allies.<sup>29</sup> As early as the late eleventh century, rural communities were making offerings to this saint as symbolic gestures of deference to the commune itself.

In 1252, when the commune issued the new gold coin, the florin, it placed on one side the word *Fiorenzia*, and on the other, *Santo Giovanni Batista*.<sup>30</sup> The celebrations of the feast days of the saint were often occasions to celebrate the peace and prosperity of the city. For example, Villani mentioned that in 1283, the year after the establishment of the priorate, when Florence was in an unrivaled period of tranquillity, the city held a “Feast of Love” that coincided with the saint’s feast day. In the parish of Santa Felicità the Rossi and their allies held a two-month festival to honor the Guelf and mercantile-led commune.<sup>31</sup> The feast day of Saint John in June was also an occasion to launch ideological attacks against the enemies of Florence. For example, in 1297, the papal legate Giovanni Orsini presided over proceedings against the papal archrival, the emperor Louis the Bavarian. There were three days of processions of all clergy, monks, and nuns in the city, who were organized to pray for divine protection from the emperor.<sup>32</sup>

The Ghibelline defeat at Campaldino in 1289 in the Casentino valley east of Florence marked the final triumph of Guelfism in northern Tuscany, and Saint Barnabas the apostle, whose feast day was the day of the battle (June 11), became an officially sponsored cult of the city.<sup>33</sup> In April of 1311 the papal court sent Cardinal Pelagrus to the city with relics of Saint Barnabas “because he (the pope) knew the Florentines held the saint in great reverence.”<sup>34</sup> Such a gesture by the court of Pope Clement V strengthened the political relations between the papacy and the commune when the latter was awaiting the invasion of Emperor Henry VII. There might have been other reasons why the dispatch of these relics was significant. From December 1310 to May 1311 Florence had suffered through one of its most serious grain shortages. The price of grain had risen to one-half a gold florin per *staio*. The arrival of the relics of the patron saint of Campaldino was a means by which the commune sought to honor a protector of the commune from the twin threats of dearth and war. For the ruling White Guelfs the display of these relics on the altar of Saint John was a reminder to the citizenry of the legitimacy of the Guelf regime, recalling the victory in 1289 when the commune had faced a significant threat to its survival.<sup>35</sup>

The tradition associated with Saint Zenobius was that he was an effective protector and intercessor for the commune as well as a patron saint of the bishopric.<sup>36</sup> Whether it was because of the dearth of 1328–30, excitement over renewed construction of the cathedral, or the threat of invasion from the west (Lucca), many Florentines began to turn to Zenobius with renewed enthusiasm in the late 1320s. The key event that sparked this revival of his cult was the exhumation of his remains from below the altar in the cathedral in 1331. Most likely the exhumation was connected to two events: the aftermath of the grain dearth (which had recently ended) and the inauguration of a new round of construction on the new cathedral.<sup>37</sup> There does certainly seem to have been a relationship between the timing of key events in the celebration of the cult of Saint Zenobius and the occurrence of periodic grain

deaths. The chronicler Marchionne di Stefani characterized the famine year 1285 as the worst in memory, and Villani called 1286 a famine year. The first documented ritual entry of a new bishop occurred in 1286, reenacting the arrival of Saint Zenobius into the city. Villani also recorded famine in 1310, which happened to be the same year that Bishop Antonio degli Orsi ordered the faithful in his new synodal constitution to celebrate the feast of Saint Zenobius throughout the diocese.<sup>38</sup> According to Villani, between 1328 and 1330 there were grain shortages, and a riot occurred at the storage center at Orsanmichele. In January of 1331, the bishops of Florence, Fiesole, Spoleto, and the archbishop of Pisa exhumed the body of the first prelate of the city. According to Villani, the people of Florence responded enthusiastically to the translation and the granting of indulgences with great devotion and generosity (“con grande devozione e oferta”). The head was placed in a reliquary for future processions on his feast day, and the body was reinterred.<sup>39</sup> In that same year several other curative miracles occurred at the graves of two laymen buried in two convents: Barduccio, buried in Santo Spirito, and Giovanni da Vespignano, buried in the convent of San Pier Maggiore.<sup>40</sup> Reports of these miracles reveal a level of intense popular yearning and enthusiasm for curative miracles after two years of devastating grain shortages (1328–30).

## **Ecclesiastical Architecture and the Myth of Florence**

Just as the promotion of several cults of saints by secular and religious leaders served temporal as well as spiritual ends, so did the actual physical fabric of the dominant ecclesiastical institutions of the city proclaim a special divine status for Florence.<sup>41</sup> To medieval Florentines, the cults of saints and the beauty and majesty of the structures constructed in their honor testified to the special favor shown the Arno city by Providence. Aware that the miraculous transformation of their city would not have occurred without divine intervention, Florentine leaders created public structures to demonstrate the central role of Florentine history in God’s plan for mankind. Urban and architectural planning in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Florence was coherently programmatic and ideological in nature, as Marvin Trachtenberg has argued, reflecting the new status of the city as a major power in Tuscany as well as in Europe. Indeed, the degree of fourteenth-century planning seems to overshadow the accomplishments of subsequent centuries.<sup>42</sup> The period in which this visionary program took shape was between 1290 and 1400, and many of these structures that were part of it were ecclesiastical: the cathedral, the Badia, the campanile, Santa Maria del Carmine, the Bargello, and Orsanmichele. One idea in particular seems to have shaped the elaboration of this architectural program: the view that Florence was a “new Rome” and a “new Jerusalem.”<sup>43</sup>

The architectural center of ecclesiastical Florence was the cathedral

complex, which celebrated the devotion of the commune to the principal holy protectors of the city: the Virgin Mary, Saint John, and Saint Zenobius. From at least 1330 Florentines believed the Baptistry had originally been a Roman temple dedicated to Mars. The nave of the cathedral had strong classical overtones, and the cupola probably took as its model the Pantheon in Rome. The radiating chapels on the western side recalled images in reliquaries of the appearance of the “celestial Jerusalem.”<sup>44</sup> Communal leaders recognized that ecclesiastical institutions encouraged civic pride and solidarity, especially through the construction of new churches and the entrusting of their maintenance to the dominant guilds of the commune.<sup>45</sup> In 1293 the commune set about removing the graves around the Baptistry at the cemetery of San Giovanni Evangelista. The new structure of Santa Croce also began in 1294 or the year after, and the new edifice of Santa Maria Novella had been under construction since 1279.<sup>46</sup>

Arnolfo di Cambio, along with Giotto the most famous artist of his day, was closely associated with the rebuilding of Santa Croce. First appearing in documents in 1225, by 1252 Santa Croce was undergoing extensive renovations and enlargement (perhaps even a completely new building). By 1294 Arnolfo was also apparently involved in the construction of the new edifice, which, like Santa Maria Novella, followed a Burgundian-Cistercian model or pattern. Enlarged to accommodate large crowds who came to hear its preachers, the basilica also catered to the spiritual and civic interests of the mercantile elite by situating ten chapels around its choir. The Bardi, Peruzzi, and Baroncelli were among the families who endowed these commemorative chapels and engaged painters such as Giotto and Taddeo Gaddi to fresco the walls.<sup>47</sup> In the Bardi Chapel, completed by 1320, Giotto and his assistants chose to reproduce six episodes from the life of Saint Francis. There was also an image of Saint Louis of Toulouse (canonized in 1317), which stressed and advertised the strong financial and political connections between the Bardi family and the Angevin regime in Naples. In the Peruzzi Chapel, finished later than the Bardi (perhaps in the mid-1320s), Giotto portrayed three scenes from the life of Saint John the Evangelist and three scenes from the principal patron saint of the commune, Saint John the Baptist.<sup>48</sup>

As the city grew in population and in wealth in the second half of the thirteenth century, so did the pace of church construction. In the urban parish of San Giovanni alone, there were several new churches and chapels constructed or refurbished: San Michele di Visdomini (1275), Santa Maria di Nipotecosa (1275), Santa Maria di Or San Michele (1291), Santa Maria Maddalena (1292), Santa Maria del Fiore (dedicated 1296), and the chapel of San Bernardo in Palazzo in the audience chamber of the city hall (Palazzo della Signoria). By 1357 the palazzo contained a panel painting of the saint by Bernardo Daddi (1335), which served as the altarpiece, an altar, and a chest for the preservation of important documents.<sup>49</sup> Midway between the political center of the city (the Piazza della Signoria, dominated by the Palazzo della



Signoria, dedicated in 1294) and the spiritual center (the cathedral complex), was the wooden loggia of Orsanmichele, located on the site of the destroyed (1249) oratory of Saint Michael. Constructed in 1284, the loggia had served as the location of the city grain market. Since 1291 it had housed the image of the Virgin Mary (with miracles reported from 1292), and it was the focal point for the *laudesi* confraternity of the Madonna of Orsanmichele. The image itself was located on a pillar of the loggia. In 1336 a fire destroyed the wooden structure and a new multistory stone structure appeared to replace it. By the middle of the century the open loggia had been enclosed.<sup>50</sup>

As the commune rose to political and economic domination within Tuscany, it embarked on a program to construct a new cathedral, both to accommodate a population that was too large for the existing cathedral of Santa Reparata and to reflect the status of Florence as the preeminent commune in Tuscany. Construction probably started on the new edifice as early as 1293. According to a 1368 inscription, the communal leadership initiated the foundation of the new cathedral on September 8, 1296, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary, on whose feast day the festivities were taking place. In the presence of a cardinal and several bishops, the priors and other magistrates changed the name of the cathedral from Santa Reparata to Santa Maria del Fiore.<sup>51</sup> By 1300 the productive sculptor and architect Arnolfo di Cambio was working as the principal contractor and architect, the *capomaestro*. Two years later, however, he was dead. There is reason to believe, however, that there was some continuity between the original plan of Arnolfo and that of the later fourteenth century. Specifically, he had apparently envisaged a high altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary, surrounded by twelve radiating chapels dedicated to the twelve apostles. As the cathedral and its piazza expanded and developed in the early decades of the fourteenth century, they provided a setting for processions and rituals on the feast day of Saint John that marked the commune's dominion over its surrounding countryside, its *contado*.<sup>52</sup>

## The Office of the Inquisition Against the Depravity of Heresy

While the religious traditions and ecclesiastical communities of the Florentine church helped to promote and create a pro-Guelf religious ideology that legitimized the post-1266 (and especially post-1282) governing regime, another ecclesiastical institution—the inquisition against heresy (*inquisitio heretice pravitatis*)—functioned to defend and enforce that very same political and ideological orthodoxy. Although there were few who were heterodox in Florence between 1250 and 1330, there was an active and functioning inquisition against heresy.<sup>53</sup> Theological, economic, political, and professional factors help us understand the significance of its work to the commune. Theologically, the office of heresy inquisition persecuted those who called into question the doctrine of purgatory, one of the key ideas

underlying Florentine spirituality and economic life. Economically, the expropriation of the property of heretics provided a source of income to specific families as well as subsidies to the commune itself. Perhaps most important of all, the work of the office of the inquisition against heresy served to shore up religious orthodox beliefs and to encourage loyalty to the Guelf commune during a period when the legitimacy and durability of the new (post-1282) Guelf and guild-oriented regime was still uncertain.

Located at Santa Croce, this “inquisition against the depravity of heresy” (*inquisitio heretice pravitatis*) was not part of a “central intelligence agency with headquarters at the papal curia.”<sup>54</sup> Rather, it was managed by a small staff of Florentines with close ties to communal officials. After the renovations at Santa Croce began in 1295, it met in a wing to the right of the entrance to the friary. To incarcerate the accused, the friars at Santa Croce had prisons located on the premises of the old as well as the new basilica. Condemnations were normally public, as the inquisitor apparently denounced the guilty and listed the penalties before crowds who were often seated on benches in front of the basilica in the warm months. In the cold months, the friars erected pulpits inside the basilica. Indicative of the close overlap of religious and political interests, the commune normally paid the salary of the guards.<sup>55</sup> From the record of its expenses and income for the years 1322 to 1329, we learn that there were two Franciscan inquisitors (Fra Michele da Arezzo and Fra Accursio da Firenze) and at least one assistant (the treasurer, or *camerlingho*, Fra Manovello).<sup>56</sup> Throughout its history, the operation seems to have resembled an unsystematic and ad hoc local affair, far from its traditional image as a monolithic institution with continental reach.<sup>57</sup>

There has been much written about the history of heresy in Florence before 1330, and it is unnecessary to recount all of it here.<sup>58</sup> Rather, I examine the impact of the activities of the office of heresy inquisition on the broader political and cultural development of the commune until 1330. According to canon law, heresy constituted views “chosen by human perception, contrary to holy scripture, publicly avowed and obstinately defended.”<sup>59</sup> To Dante’s contemporaries, it appeared that heresy, pursued vigorously in the 1240s, had virtually disappeared by the early fourteenth.<sup>60</sup> For Villani, writing in 1346, as for Giordano da Pisa a bit earlier in 1304, heresy no longer posed a problem for Florentine officials. Dante mentioned no Patarines or other heretics, but he did show some concerns about the ideological threats posed by the followers of Fra Dolcino. More contemporary historians such as Felice Tocco and Robert Davidsohn have viewed the purposes of the office of the inquisition as the persecution of the Ghibellines and the seizure of their property. Carol Lansing has argued that “the evidence for active Florentine Cathars largely disappears with the exile of the Ghibellines” after 1267.<sup>61</sup>

Nevertheless, the work of the inquisition against heresy was useful to the secular and religious elite, as it tended to encourage ideological conformity to

religious orthodoxy and political loyalty to the Guelph commune. Its first mission was theological, which meant that its primary duty was to pursue and eliminate any remaining vestiges of the dualist heresy of Catharism.<sup>62</sup> One of the principal religious assumptions in Florence, as we have seen in testamentary legacies, the sermons of Remigio dei Girolami, the chronicle of Villani, and the poetry of Dante was the belief in purgatory. As the thirteenth century Rainier Sacconi noted in his brief survey of heresy, Cathars called into question fundamental religious assumptions, including the resurrection of the body and the existence of purgatory. “All the Cathari deny that there will be a resurrection of the flesh.... Also, *they all deny Purgatory*” (italics mine).<sup>63</sup> Since Cathars traditionally denied bodily resurrection purgatory, they not only were a threat to orthodoxy, but they also called into question one of the key ideas that underlay the flourishing economic culture of Florence between 1250 and 1330. To repudiate purgatory was to deny the veracity of one of the key ideas that sustained the rise to supremacy.<sup>64</sup> Without such a belief, basic Christian ideas would have been impossible to maintain. Purgatory had to exist if one was to retain hope regarding one’s own eternal destiny.

After 1250 there were also strong financial interests on the part of the commune, the friars, and certain families for the work of the office of the inquisition against heresy to continue. The friars and secular clergy benefited from testamentary legacies, which Catharism tended to undermine by calling purgatory into question. Defending the idea of purgatory helped to insure that legacies would continue. Furthermore, the commune had its own reasons to want to see the inquisition against heresy continue. At least a third of value of the property confiscated from convicted heretics went to the commune. Since the pontificate of Gregory IX (1231), these sums were supposed to go to the upkeep of the walls, and in 1289 there is evidence that the funds were still being used for that purpose (they paid for a portion of the city walls in that year on the left bank of the Arno). By 1324 however the commune was using its third of the proceeds to subsidize the construction of Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella (a third went to the latter, and two-thirds went to the former). The other two-thirds of confiscated property that did not go to the commune were presumably divided between the office of the heresy inquisition and the friars. In 1283, however, when the property of the heretic Rovinosa Bagnesi was confiscated, the *podestà* ordered that while a second third of the proceeds go to the office of the heresy inquisition, the remaining third should go to a permanent committee established by the commune (which would collaborate with the inquisitor about what to do with the property).<sup>65</sup>

Another crucial function of the office of the heresy inquisition was political. The period of its most intense activity was the 1280s, under the leadership of Fra Salomone da Lucca (inquisitor from 1282). This decade coincided with the most far-reaching changes in Florentine political history in decades: the creation of the magistracy of the priorate (1282), legislation

against fictitious priests, and the beginning of the campaign against the magnates (1282 and 1286). It was a time when the new Guelph regime of the *popolo* was struggling to legitimize itself and to discredit its Ghibelline predecessors and remaining rivals. The office of the heresy inquisition played a small role in this process of legitimization. The political insecurity created by the replacement of one regime with another (the priorate) created the conditions that made necessary an energetic defense of religious orthodoxy and loyalty to the commune against all foes, both imagined and real. The majority of the targets of its proceedings during this time were the few prominent Ghibellines left, especially those who had established close Cathar connections. When there were not enough live Ghibellines to pursue, the office went after dead ones—sometimes, as in the case of Farinata degli Uberti (d. 1264), several times. Because he supposedly denied immortality of the soul, he appears in the Sixth Circle of Dante's Hell, among the heretics (*Inferno*, canto 10). Some of these families continued to be targets of magnate legislation, the Nerli and the Uberti in particular.<sup>66</sup> The execution at the stake of the astrologer Ceceo d'As-coli in 1327 ostensibly resulted from his views regarding the influence of the movement of the stars on human history and on the freedom of the will. However, it appears that the real reason for his death was political. Many wanted to blame him for the failures of his patron Charles of Calabria toward the Ghibelline communes.<sup>67</sup> The interrogation in 1280 by Friar Salomone of the Cathar and former Ghibelline exile Saraceno Paganelli reveals that Catharism and Ghibellinism were still greatly feared by members of the Florentine elite.<sup>68</sup>

Even though Florentine religious and political leaders declared victory against the Cathars by the early fourteenth century, they became increasingly alarmed at the emergence of new sources of heterodox and subversive belief. The threat came from the sect of the Pseudo-Apostles associated with the followers of Gherardo Segarelli in Emilia, who lived around 1260. Preaching poverty, promoting the apostolic life, and condemning the materialism of the hierarchical church, Gherardo's followers acquired a significant number of enemies within the ecclesiastical establishment. Led after Gherardo's death by Dolcino da Novara, they settled in Piedmont until a crusading army destroyed them in 1306 and 1307. Ultimately, Fra Dolcino and his lover, Margarita, were both brutally put to death at Vercelli under the direction of the bishop of that city. In the next few years communes throughout northern Italy seemed terrified by the followers of these men and women. They energetically hunted down and exterminated them. In Padua alone twenty-two burned at the stake on the same day.<sup>69</sup> In Florence, there was also alarm. For example, although Fra Giordano confidently confirmed that Catharism in Florence was no more, he remained extremely concerned about the influence of the followers of Fra Dolcino. On the feast day of Saint John 1305 he spoke about them in a sermon, horrified at their wholesale rejection of ecclesiastical hierarchy and papal obedience.<sup>70</sup> In 1322 a friar who was associated with the office of the

heresy inquisition, Pace da Castelfiorentino, traveled throughout the forested hinterlands of the Arno Valley in the diocese of Fiesole looking for suspected heretics.<sup>71</sup> Giovanni Villani, writing a generation after Dolcino's death, saw Fra Dolcino as a false friar who had claimed to be an apostle of Christ and who had argued for the common possession and use of property and women. Significantly, Villani condemned him for having rejected the legitimacy of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, especially the popes and cardinals.<sup>72</sup> At Florence in the prison at Santa Croce sometime around 1310 there were at least two followers of Fra Dolcino, both non-Florentines: Tommaso d'Asti and Giovanni da Lucca. The heresy inquisitor in Florence, Friar Andrea da Firenze, wrote to his counterpart in Padua for information on them. Indeed, he noted that Giovanni had been a close associate of Fra Dolcino when he was being pursued by ecclesiastical authorities ("magnam conversationem et familiaritatem habuerat cum dolcino stando in monte cum eo"). It is uncertain what their ultimate fate was, but there is reason to believe that they ended their lives at the stake.<sup>73</sup> Dante Alighieri, who wrote about Fra Dolcino in the twenty-eighth canto of the *Inferno*, was most concerned about the *divisiveness* of the friar's views and the threats he posed to social stability.<sup>74</sup> Dante and the inquisitors shared common concerns regarding the dangers posed by the followers of the friar.

Whereas at Siena the only citizens facing imprisonment and the confiscation of property were members of a magnate lineage, the Montecchiesi,<sup>75</sup> at Florence the impact of the work of the inquisition against heresy was more pervasive. Its essential political function was best exemplified by the decision on the part of the commune to incorporate rubrics on heretics (*De hereticis diffidantis et exbanniendis*) and on the Fraticelli (*De Fraticellis*) into the 1325 Statuto del Podestà. The first stipulated that the secular authority (*podestà*) must take into custody (*capere*) those who had been condemned as heretics by the bishop within eight days.<sup>76</sup> Religious and secular institutions therefore collaborated to maintain ideological and political stability in an otherwise unstable environment. The office of the inquisition against heresy at Santa Croce reminded all that the commune and church of Florence expected ideological conformity and loyalty to the Guelf commune in the city as well as its surrounding countryside.

## The Formation of the Florentine Dominion

The final, major contribution of Florentine ecclesiastical communities to the development of the Florentine commune was in the area of regional administration: the construction of the Florentine territorial *dominion*.<sup>77</sup> Historians have acknowledged that ecclesiastical lordship and property holding in northern Italy played a prominent role in the development of the commune and the territorial state, especially in the fifteenth century.<sup>78</sup> However, this process began much earlier in many communes, even from as

early as the twelfth century, and it is an aspect of Italian history that has not gotten the attention it deserves.<sup>79</sup> The role of ecclesiastical lords in the extension of Florentine urban jurisdiction throughout and beyond the *contado* is indeed a point that is often neglected by mainstream accounts.<sup>80</sup> Although urban control of the Florentine *contado* was not totally complete by 1330, it tended to be strongest near or in areas where the major ecclesiastical lords had traditionally held significant properties and territorial power; specifically, the major river valleys of the diocese (the Arno, Pesa, Elsa, Greve, and Sieve). Indeed, Florentine officials were able to build on the economic and political traditions of urban ecclesiastical lords to extend and deepen an urban presence in areas of the *contado* that were not yet sufficiently under Florentine control in the early decades of the fourteenth century. Even in areas of weakest urban penetration and control (the Mugello), Florentine political presence was most closely felt precisely where the great urban ecclesiastical lords had traditionally held sway. Far from being opposed to one another, ecclesiastical and communal officials worked cooperatively to extend urban jurisdiction throughout the *contado* throughout the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century.<sup>81</sup>

The transition from the medieval commune to the early modern regional (or territorial) state and the nature of the relationship between city and countryside are two of the most important issues in Italian medieval historiography.<sup>82</sup> Throughout Italy, however, the political and economic development of the regional state differed from region to region, so much so that variations from commune to commune are startling. For example, urban subjugation of the countryside was more successful in the Po Valley and central Tuscany than it was in the other areas of central and southern Italy. In contrast to an earlier generation of historians who emphasized the conflictual nature of urban-rural relations, today most scholars portray the connections between city and countryside in northern Italy as organic and reciprocal; it was, however, a partnership in which the city was usually the principal beneficiary. The close connections linking city and countryside and the persistence of urban institutions set north and central Italy apart from the regional situation north of the Alps.<sup>83</sup>

In Tuscany, most communes controlled their *contadi* by the middle of the thirteenth century, but not Florence. Lucca and Arezzo had successfully extended urban jurisdiction throughout their dioceses by the early decades of the 1200s, and Pisa had reached the same point by the end of that same century.<sup>84</sup> At Florence, however, where there were relatively fewer urban landowners in the countryside before 1300 than elsewhere, the process of urban penetration was initially slower. However, once it started in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, it was rapid. For the most part, urban domination of the hinterland was almost complete in the diocese of Florence by 1330, the year that closes the chronological span of this book.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, urban landholding, apart from the properties of the great ecclesiastical lords

(the bishopric and the cathedral chapter, in particular), began to spread throughout the countryside immediately around Florence only in the closing decades of the thirteenth century. Even though urban control of the *contado* took longer for Florence than it did for other Tuscan communes in the later Middle Ages, modern historians continue to characterize the Florentine dominion in the fifteenth century as emblematic of the powerful and coherent early modern territorial state.<sup>86</sup>

The development of the Florentine territorial dominion proceeded in three distinct phases: consolidation of urban control over most of the *contado* (1250–1330), expansion beyond the *contado* (1330–78), and the formation of the early modern regional state (1378–1440).<sup>87</sup> For our purposes, this book focuses on the first phase. Many of the regions of the *contado* that came under clear urban control in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries were precisely those areas where urban ecclesiastical lords had previously held significant properties, if not outright territorial lordships. Several political developments facilitated the expansion of urban control over those areas under ecclesiastical lordship. They included urban involvement in the power-sharing arrangements in the countryside that regulated conflicts between church lords and rural communes and the subordination by the early 1290s of ecclesiastical institutions to the interests of the commune. The buildup of urban landholding where church lords held sway was also a significant factor.

The economic and political strategies of the early thirteenth-century Florentine bishops had contributed to the emergence in the countryside of several rural communes that challenged episcopal signorial jurisdiction: Castelfiorentino (1195) in the Elsa River Valley, Sesto (1209) and Capalle (1231) in the Arno River Valley west of the city, Borgo San Lorenzo (1226) in the Mugello, and San Casciano in the Pesa River Valley (1241). Concerned at the emergence of disorder in the diocese and unable or unwilling to impose direct control, the commune of Florence helped adjudicate a set of power-sharing compromises between its bishop and the rural communes that were challenging its jurisdiction. Basically, the commune helped generate a set of agreements that maintained urban control of those areas of the *contado* (through the institution that was fundamentally a communal surrogate, the bishopric) while it also allowed some degree of local independence. Agreements were worked out at Castelfiorentino (1231), Capalle (1232), Borgo San Lorenzo (1239), San Casciano (1241), and Valcava in the Mugello (1243).<sup>88</sup> Essentially, communal adjudication of these disputes—resolutions which preserved urban sovereignty—assured urban dominion in key areas of the Elsa River Valley (Castelfiorentino), the Pesa Valley (San Casciano), the Mugello Valley (Valcava and Borgo), and the Valdarno immediately to the west of the city (Capalle). Two of those rural communes, Borgo San Lorenzo and San Casciano Val di Pesa, *borghi* characterized by Andrea Zorzi as “quasi-cities,” assumed decisively important roles as “sub-urban” centers around which Florentine dominion coalesced in the course of the thirteenth



and fourteenth centuries. The completion of urban control over the Valdarno and the Val d'Eisa necessitated by the military threats from the west after 1315 (Lucca and Pisa, in particular), centered on regions of the *contado* precisely where the Florentine cathedral chapter and bishopric had exercised territorial and political control for centuries. The commune established protectorates over Colle Val d'Eisa (1331) and Pistoia (1331), and after 1300 it annexed both Carmignano and Artimino, each located near Signa, where the cathedral chapter had held concentrated territorial holdings for centuries.<sup>89</sup>

As Florence consolidated its control of its *contado* between 1250 and 1330, it did so in many areas where it had already established a major foothold in decades past: the sites of major ecclesiastical lordships. Among them were the Mugello Valley, the Val di Pesa, and the area around Monte di Croce in the Val di Sieve (see Map 1). Perhaps nowhere was the reliance on its connection with ecclesiastical lords to extend urban jurisdiction over the *contado* more evident than in the Mugello.<sup>90</sup> This region of the *contado* was the most difficult area of its hinterland for the urban elite to tame before 1330. This was because of its mountainous terrain, the continued presence of strong territorial lords (the Ubaldini and Guidi), and, except of the cathedral chapter (until 1289) and the bishopric, the absence of significant urban landholding in the valley until the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>91</sup> However, where integration of the Mugello into the Florentine orbit was strongest was precisely where urban lords (the bishopric and cathedral chapter) had enjoyed long-standing connections, especially the central eastern valley floor of the Sieve River and its adjacent hills. The acquisition in 1291 by the commune of much of the Mugello from the cathedral chapter was a significant step. The zones around Vespignano and Borgo San Lorenzo—closely associated with the fortunes of the bishopric for three centuries—also became the centers for the extension of urban jurisdiction over the Mugello in the fourteenth century. This was not true, however, for the rest of the Mugello. The powerful regional lords, the Ubaldini and the Guidi, still commanded extensive rights and properties in the mountainous areas of the region.<sup>92</sup>

In those areas where ecclesiastical lords had dominated historically in the Mugello and in the Val di Sieve, urban jurisdiction and penetration became evident by the end of the thirteenth century. Renzo Nelli has detailed the process of land acquisition by urban dwellers for the region around Monte di Croce in the lower Sieve Valley (see Map 1). This was an area that had been under episcopal lordship at least since 1227. Among the Florentines acquiring property in the area were members of the Pazzi, Caponsacchi, and Saltarelli lineages. Another location where urban dwellers acquired property was Vespignano, where the bishopric had first acquired possessions (portions of a *castello*) at least as early as the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>93</sup> Through its historic economic and political ties to the bishop, Vespignano became closely connected to the urban elite. In the early fourteenth century Florence was collecting taxes there, evident from the fact that in 1307 the town selected

rectors to distribute its urban tax burden (*libra*) among its residents, destined for payment to the Florentine tax collectors. Two years later the local patrons of its parish were charging a Florentine church, San Simone, with the responsibility of selecting their new rector. In 1327 a local resident surrendered to a local priest, a certain Presbyter Ridolfo, who was collecting for the Florentine bishop, ten lire that represented ill-gotten gains of uncertain origin (“pro incertis et male acquisitis”).<sup>94</sup> Moneylenders from Florence were active at Vespignano, such as Lapo Strozzi, who had loaned the commune fifty florins. In the central valley near Vespignano, where the bishops held significant amounts of property in the region of Borgo, Florentine officials supervised the construction of public works projects, conducted by members of local communities. In 1284, 1285, and 1297, for example, Florentine officials were able to conduct road and bridge repairs on the Sieve River.<sup>95</sup> The intention of these projects was to maintain access to grain reserves and to secure the principal valley road and a north-south road connecting the Mugello to Florence (see Map 1).

The central valley of the Sieve and the roads connecting it to Florence—where the bishopric still controlled vast holdings and where the cathedral chapter held significant properties until 1289—appear to have been within urban control by the second decade of the fourteenth century. Connections between Florence and the central Mugello were strong, and Florentine interests in securing the Mugello stemmed from economic, fiscal, military, and political imperatives. Almost a fifth of late thirteenth-century immigrants to the city came from the northwestern section of the *contado* (which included the Mugello), precisely from many areas dominated by Florentine church lords (such as Vespignano).<sup>96</sup> A native of Vespignano, Giotto di Bondone was the most notable and famous immigrant to Florence from the Mugello before 1330. Many of his family members remained in the Mugello at Vespignano. His son, Francesco, had apparently also entered the church. He was prior of Santa Maria di Vespignano in 1330, and he was active in community affairs, while also overseeing his family’s interests in the area.<sup>97</sup> Not only did the Mugello serve as a vital reservoir of available labor for the growing city, but there were also economic and fiscal reasons why urban magistrates saw the region as vital to the security of the commune. Much of its grain supply and a sizable amount of tax revenue also came from the region. As Florence faced dearth and military threats from Arezzo, Pisa, and Lucca in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, the Mugello became an even more important source of food, troops, and tax revenue, and the roads that linked the valley to Florence absolutely had to be secured.<sup>98</sup>

The interests of the great ecclesiastical lords in the Mugello were historic and traditional, and they extended back at least to the tenth century. At the end of the thirteenth century the cathedral chapter relinquished its possessions in the valley to the commune of Florence.<sup>99</sup> Imperial and episcopal privileges of protection indicated that the cathedral chapter possessed estates in the western

Mugello before 1000.<sup>100</sup> We know that the cathedral chapter was still collecting the former imperial (public) taxes (the *datium et accattum*) as late as 1262 at the center of its holdings at Molezzano. In 1279 it was still carting its grain from the Mugello to the city. In that year it had drawn on its grain reserves in the Mugello to make bread for the feast it hosted for the papal legate, Cardinal Latino, sent by the papacy to resolve factional strife between Guelfs and Ghibellines.<sup>101</sup> In 1289 and 1290, the cathedral chapter sold its properties and servile tenants (*fideles*) in the Mugello to develop lucrative rental properties in the central parishes of the city. To prevent the Ubaldini from acquiring these holdings, the Florentines exchanged property worth three thousand lire with the cathedral chapter to acquire legal rights to the estates and tenants of the chapter at Molezzano, Pagliariccio, Campiano, Pulicciano, and Ronta.<sup>102</sup> This sale ended two centuries of involvement in the Mugello by the cathedral chapter, but it also guaranteed that urban control over this area would persist.<sup>103</sup> The extension of political and economic control by the communal government over this region of the *contado* was made possible only through the existence of close connections between urban authorities and the cathedral chapter. The Florentine bishopric also had a larger presence in the central and eastern Mugello, especially in the areas around Borgo San Lorenzo, Padule, and Botena. Borgo San Lorenzo was the focus of an episcopal territorial lordship in the valley. In particular, the development of a strong episcopal presence in these towns and in the Apennine foothills above present-day Vicchio created a permanent episcopal (and indirectly, urban) presence in this part of the valley that continued into the early modern era. Episcopal tenure in the zone around Monte di Croce was also substantial.<sup>104</sup>

How, exactly, did the presence of ecclesiastical lordships in regions of the *contado* like the Mugello actually translate into urban domination of those areas? This is an area of research that deserves far more study, not only regarding Florence but also other communes in Tuscany as well. The Florentines supervised accords between ecclesiastical lords and the rural communes in the first half of the thirteenth century in key regions of the *contado* that confirmed several sets of understandings. The rural communes received some measure of self-governance while some of the signorial rights of ecclesiastical lords were maintained. However, urban courts now had overall jurisdiction. Sovereignty ultimately conferred the right of Florentine officials to tax those communities and dispatch urban magistrates to govern them. In some cases, such as the collection of urban taxes, ecclesiastical officials played a major role, as at Monte di Croce. The continued social and political ties linking families within the Florentine ruling elite with the upper ranks of the Florentine clergy (see [Chapter 2](#)) meant that many ecclesiastical officials operating on rural estates and in rural communities were actually urban residents with close connections to urban magistrates. This encouraged the development of a continuity of interests linking rural communities under ecclesiastical jurisdiction with the policies of urban elites. This seems to have

been the case at Monte di Croce, for example. The bishop maintained a presence in the area, while members of the Pazzi and Saltarelli were expanding their own property-holding.<sup>105</sup> The extensive patronage networks established by the great ecclesiastical lords in the countryside brought local elites into contact with urban leaders, further drawing rural communities into the social and economic universe dominated by Florence.<sup>106</sup> By the last decade of the thirteenth century, in both city and countryside, Florentine ecclesiastical and communal interests had become mutually interdependent.

Where long-standing ties between rural communities and urban ecclesiastical lords existed, therefore, the urban elite retained a foothold from which it was able gradually extend its jurisdiction over the entire region. The ability of the city to project its power in the Mugello varied from zone to zone, and in some areas, it remained tenuous, especially along the ridgelines and slopes of the valley still dominated by rural lordships. However, where urban power was strongest in the Mugello before 1330 was precisely in the regions where church lords had exercised significant power for centuries. Only after the 1374 defeats of the Guidi and Ubaldini were the Florentines able to impose effective jurisdiction over the entire valley, a full generation after the period covered by this study.<sup>107</sup> This particular case study of the Mugello demonstrates how important ecclesiastical landlordship was in the early phases of the formation of the territorial state, especially in a region of Tuscany where few other urban landlords held sway. Deeply involved in the process of the formation of the regional Florentine state—even in the early fourteenth century—were the ecclesiastical properties and interests of urban institutions. What transpired in the Mugello also occurred in the other zones of concentrated ecclesiastical landholding: the Valdarno west of the city, and the Val di Pesa. Ecclesiastical landholding provided an important pathway for city officials to affirm urban dominion over rural communities in the *contado*. This was an important step toward the creation of a territorial *dominium* before 1330 and a regional state thereafter.

## Conclusion

Among the many essays written by John Updike and published by the *New Yorker* magazine was a meditation on the future of religious faith in contemporary America. In that piece, the American writer and critic found inspiration in the Florentine weather. While staying at a hotel near the cathedral in Florence, Updike awoke in his room in a fit of anxiety, “having consented, against my better judgment, to write this piece on the future of faith.”<sup>1</sup> From his room he watched an intimidating thunderstorm begin, one of those loud and rain-soaked storms that are so common in Tuscany in the warmer months. Outside his window he had a clear view of Brunelleschi’s fifteenth-century dome as it was pelted with heavy rain and illuminated by flashes of lightning. Comparing the cathedral to a “stoic mute dragon,” solid and impervious to the tempest all around it, he wrote: “I was filled with a glad sense of exterior activity. God was at work—at ease, even.”<sup>2</sup>

Dante Alighieri and other fourteenth-century Florentines saw, as did John Updike, a divine presence at work in their city. They were aware that the political and economic fortunes of their commune on the Arno had rapidly and dramatically improved in the short span of two generations, and they saw that as a certain mark of divine favor and providence. The Florentine church and its traditions were at the center of these developments. The poetry, the monuments, the paintings, and the original architectural design of the city created by the contemporaries of Giotto and Dante continue to inspire artists, historians, and intellectuals today. The stream of major books on Florence by eminent writers is ample evidence of that fact.<sup>3</sup> Many continue to find intellectual inspiration and solace in the monuments of the city on the Arno, built to serve as physical manifestations of the “New Jerusalem.” Like Dante, Updike venerated the Piazza del Duomo for its beloved Baptistery. A century after Dante, in the same public square, Brunelleschi raised his dome over the well of Arnolfo’s late thirteenth-century cathedral to the marvel of all. Where modern intellectuals find relief from twenty-first-century existential angst, medieval Florentines found hope to vanquish their spiritual anxieties, to shorten their postmortem sojourns in purgatory, and to resolve their violent disputes with each other. The Baptistery was where all Florentines came as infants to be cleansed of the stain and guilt of original sin. In the *duomo* the cathedral chapter presided over and directed the principal rituals and processions of the city, celebrations that promoted civic peace, commemorated the cults of the major saintly protectors of the commune, and glorified the Guelf regime. The masses regularly celebrated by the cathedral

clergy and their chaplains dispensed grace to a population reeling from the spiritual consequences of the pride and greed unleashed by sudden wealth. From its pulpits the words of preachers harangued the crowds to atone for moneylending and to eliminate the avarice and envy that stemmed from an excess of prosperity and ambition.

In the two generations between the death of the blessed Umiliana dei Cerchi in 1246 and the exhumation of the remains of Saint Zenobius in 1331, Florence had become one of the most populated and powerful cities in Europe. Its economic and political prominence as a major player in the propapal-Angevin alliance placed it at the center of European politics. Artists and intellectuals acknowledged the rapidity of these changes in their chronicles, poems, buildings, and artwork, connecting Florence to the themes of regeneration, revival, and new life. These economic and social developments created rapid social mobility for a prosperous few (*la gente nuova*), but it also led, in the estimation of its brightest minds, including that of Dante, to arrogance, intemperance (*orgoglio e dismisura*), and an inexcusable level of factionalism among its leaders.<sup>4</sup>

This study began with a fundamental question. What role did the Florentine church play in the remarkable growth and development of Florence during the lifetime of Dante? Between 1250 and 1330 ecclesiastical institutions, personnel, and traditions promoted and facilitated the rapid ascent of Florence to supremacy, while, at the same time, they also provided economic and social support to many of those who had been adversely affected by that transformation. Some members of religious communities were critical of and even resistant to the close association between ecclesiastical institutions and the material world. Overall, however, the Florentine church played a constructive and integral role in the transformation of the city during the age of Dante. Ecclesiastical institutions provided leadership in the governance of both city and countryside, nurtured the formation of a composite but continually divided ruling class, and contributed significantly to the economic wealth of the diocese in the areas of food production, urban development, and fiscal affairs. In the absence of effective urban jurisdictional power over much of the countryside until the end of the thirteenth century, members of the secular clergy served local residents as arbitrators, intermediaries, and generators of peace pacts. Ecclesiastical communities also sustained a cultural environment that allowed the Florentine elite to confront and overcome the troubling spiritual consequences of sudden wealth. With regard to the testamentary preferences of the wealthy, the special devotion of women for religious images and of men for funerary monuments shaped the direction of the visual arts in Dante's Florence. Charity, prompted by the promise of future release from the punishments of purgatory, and the peacemaking activities of both elite and nonelite ecclesiastical officials helped maintain order in a city undergoing rapid change. Furthermore, ecclesiastical communities and traditions contributed ideologically, economically, and

politically to the formation of a territorial *dominium* and to the legitimization of the Guelf commune.

Some within the Florentine ecclesiastical community provided support for those harmed or excluded by the rapid economic and political changes occurring in the city and its surrounding countryside. Many ecclesiastical institutions—particularly those connected with hospitals, friaries, confraternities, and even the bishopric—provided institutional support and charity to the poor, the displaced, the unwanted, and the underemployed. They distributed charity and restituted ill-gotten gains to the needy and the exploited. Some members of the Florentine religious community, particularly Pietro Olivi, Ubertino da Cásale, and their followers at Santa Croce and other Tuscan friaries, came to argue that the symbiotic partnership between the Franciscan order (and by extension, the church) and the world was contrary to the ideal of the imitation of Christ (*imitatio Christi*). In the countryside, the lower ranks of the clergy, specifically the parish priests, provided credit to local residents and communities and served as peacemakers and intermediaries in local affairs. Many priests leased church property on favorable terms to local tenants and were occasionally quite lax about collecting rents. In 1285, 1299, 1307, 1323, 1326, and 1328 members of the clergy collectively protested and resisted what they perceived to be excessive taxation and unjustified violations of their privileges. By doing so, they were not just acting out of self-interest to protect their privileges, which is the image of the secular clergy advanced by Robert Davidsohn. They were also looking out for others who were affected by communal taxes on the clergy—their parishioners.

The contributions made by the church to Florentine history seem unique, especially in comparison with other communes. First, rural members of the secular clergy were apparently far more important as arbitrators in the processes of dispute resolution and peacemaking than were their counterparts in the dioceses of Pisa and Lucca. Whereas in the latter two communes, urban institutions had extensively penetrated rural areas before 1200, they did not begin to do so in the Florentine countryside until a century later. Whereas rural residents of Pisa and Lucca could rely on urban consular courts, countrymen and women in Florence had to turn to arbitration,<sup>5</sup> and among these principal arbitrators were churchmen (especially secular clerics). Second, the extensive property held by ecclesiastics in the major river valleys of the diocese (especially by the bishopric) helped to facilitate the creation after 1300 of an urban-dominated territorial dominion. Such was not the case in some of the other Tuscan communes. The dominant holdings of the Sienese bishopric, for example, were all located in the same area of the diocese. Furthermore, other communes like Lucca were able to dominate their *contadi* much earlier than was Florence. Precisely for that reason, ecclesiastical lordships were particularly important strategically and politically to the Florentine urban elite, more so than to the Lucchesi and Pisani one or two



centuries earlier. Third, the special relationship between the papal curia and the Florentine church—facilitated no doubt by the growing and extensive economic and political ties linking the two after 1266—was unlike the connection between the papacy and any other Tuscan commune. Indeed, such a relationship was a major factor that promoted the commune and its church into the highest ranks of political and diplomatic influence in Europe.

Fourth, unlike Pisa, for which we have extensive information, the bishopric of Florence, not the laity, monopolized the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage rights. After 1292, the date after which the commune and the elite ecclesiastical institutions of the commune had resolved their most pressing differences, both the secular and religious elites worked in tandem to promote the interests of a composite yet factionalized elite. The extensive patronage rights of the bishopric and the cathedral chapter constituted another pathway by which the urban elite was able to extend its power and influence over its hinterland. Fifth, the explosive prosperity of Florence helped generate a cultural environment that encouraged extensive charity. Such rapid increases in wealth and strong traditions of charitable giving seem unique to Florence, when compared to other communes (such as Siena). This benevolence, stimulated by guilt, fear, a yearning to diminish time spent in purgatory, and a desire to imitate Christ and Saint Francis, was a crucial factor helping to maintain social order in a city experiencing revolutionary political change, grain shortages, growing poverty, and massive immigration. The particular and unique history of Florentine ecclesiastical institutions certainly does not in and of itself explain the remarkable rise to supremacy by the city on the Arno. Nevertheless, without taking into account such contributions, that ascent to primacy is not fully explicable.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the conclusions of this study have several implications for modern medieval historiography. The themes developed here suggest that church history belongs at the center of the history of the Italian commune, not as an obstructionist and corrupting force, but as a collaborative and even critical partner in the process of the development of the Italian city-state.<sup>6</sup> Whereas some institutions and clergy did indeed cooperate with other members of the elite to worsen the social conditions under which many Florentines lived, others within the church responded to these rapid changes in Florence by coming to the aid of their victims. It follows, therefore, that we should not view the church as if it were a single entity that spoke with one voice; it was a living, diverse, and often unruly set of communities that was as divided as the society of which it was a part. Those divisions were not exclusively horizontal; they could also be vertical. At times the cathedral chapter seemed to represent the interests of the clergy as a whole, as it did in 1285; at other times, as in the 1320s, it seemed to exist in a world quite apart from the lower ranks of the secular clergy. No institution was more complex than the bishopric. On one hand, on its estates, it contributed to the consolidation of property, the diffusion of urban

landholding, and the spread of *mezzadria* tenure—policies that were damaging to many peasant communities in the early fourteenth century. On the other hand, the bishopric oversaw the welfare of the urban poor, acted to protect many female religious communities from the ravages of war and excessive economic burdens, and used its court to resolve disputes and conflicts.

The experience of Florence indicates that a more balanced and positive view of the contributions of the secular and regular clergy is appropriate, contrary to the generally negative and critical portrayal offered by Robert David-son. To develop a more balanced picture of the contributions of the secular and regular clergies, scholars need to get out of the city and focus more on the countryside. That will require a fuller appreciation for the role of economic history in ecclesiastical history. It is a perspective with which Pietro Olivi, Dante Alighieri, Umiliana dei Cerchi, Stefano de Broy, and Bene di Nero all would have sympathized, even if they would have disagreed sharply among themselves about what attitudes churchmen should properly assume regarding the role of money in ecclesiastical life.

Our story suggests that it was in the third decade of the fourteenth century, not in the 1340s, when fiscal and economic burdens became most pronounced, at least with regard to their impact on ecclesiastical communities. Military expenses of the commune were the principal reason for these pressures. This period of stress came two decades earlier than the time that both Marvin Becker and Charles-Marie de La Roncière identified as fiscally oppressive. It was a period during which the amount of communal, episcopal, and papal taxation on the secular clergy had reached unprecedented levels, prompting a crescendo of complaints from those affected. Other significant expenses stemmed from the cost of litigation against papal clients seeking to usurp traditional local patronage rights. For the lower ranks of the secular clergy, as well as for many members of the regular clergy, pressured by the commune and the papacy alike, the last years of the 1320s constituted a period of intense fiscal and bureaucratic pressure.<sup>7</sup>

In many ways Jacob Burckhardt was right about one thing, even if he was basically wrong about the church: the end of the thirteenth century in Florence and other communes marked the beginning of many cultural traditions in the world that we still recognize today. They include accounting practices that carefully balanced expenditures and income, artistic and literary works that continue to inspire writers and architects today, a modern Tuscan landscape that still bears the contours of an agricultural system based on *poderi a mezzadria*, a preoccupation among many with individual fame and glory, spiritual traditions that are still very vibrant in modern Catholicism, and a legacy of dissent and opposition toward the “material” church associated first with the Franciscan Spirituals and still very much with us in the form of liberation theology. Recent research into the history of architecture and intellectual life (Humanism) has also demonstrated that the late thirteenth

century was truly a major and underappreciated turning point in Western history. Aspects of modernity may very well reach back into the thirteenth century, with the church playing a constructive, not negative role in their generation.<sup>8</sup>

Another aspect of Florentine culture, however, has also paradoxically shaped modern consciousness: belief in purgatory. It is indeed a great fault line that separates us from our medieval ancestors. Yet, it not only helped create an environment conducive for economic development within an industrializing economy, but it also might have even necessitated the acquisition of wealth. It is not without justification that Jacques Le Goff has written that “the birth of purgatory is also the dawn of banking,” and that purgatory “contributed to the birth of capitalism.”<sup>9</sup> Richard Fenn has more recently argued that belief in purgatory has shaped “the Western consciousness of time,”<sup>10</sup> particularly within American society. According to his argument, it has instilled within us modes of thinking that have led to anxiety and obsession regarding the restrictions and limitations of time in a secular world.<sup>11</sup> Medieval Europeans in places like Tuscany and Provence found in the belief in purgatory a means to cope with the effect on their lives of the radical changes occurring around them. As such, this belief, whose roots extended back to late antiquity, shaped the way Florentines thought about themselves and their loved ones. Indeed, it encouraged them to think like the Florentine notaries who were keeping careful accounts of income and expenditures: they had to calculate, strategize, establish priorities, and look into the future as well as back into the past. In these beliefs about purgatory are among the first stirrings in Europe of a legacy of critical self-reflection within an industrial economy. These habits of thinking did not emerge from a “veil,” as Burckhardt characterized medieval religion, that was “woven of faith, illusion, and childish prepossession, through which the world and history were seen clad in strange hues.”<sup>12</sup> Rather, they came out of a singular aspect of medieval spirituality itself.

There came a time one summer during my research for this book when I felt as if the Florentines who had written the testaments I was reading had come alive as distinct individuals. The distance in time between my own life and theirs suddenly seemed to evaporate. Instead of simply seeing impersonal, formulaic, and monotonous Latin phrases in legal documents, I saw real human desires and wants. When Giovanna dei Caponsacchi, a resident of the parish of San Lorenzo and the widow of the nobleman Ubertino da Gaville left numerous legacies in her testament of October 30, 1330, she did so to shorten her time in purgatory. At first, she seemed to me to be calling to those of us in the twenty-first century from a strange world dominated by odd beliefs. When Bene di Nero and Stefano de Broy left portions of their estates to churches, hospitals, and confraternities, they also seemed to be acting in inscrutable ways. After all, I asked, why were they giving to this particular church and to this particular hospital?<sup>13</sup> The answers seemed lost to me. Yet,

the actions of none of these three individuals were mysterious. As William James might have expressed it, they were all concerned with their own individual destinies and those of their loved ones. In their testaments they told us about the people they loved, and they told us something about themselves and what they valued most. The testament of Stefano honored his patron, Ruggero dei Buondelmonti, a man who had greatly helped promote his career. From Bene's testament, we learn about his affection and fondness for the area around Castrobonizzi where he presumably had spent a happier and earlier phase of his career, years before his exhausting and stressful lawsuit with Federico dei Bardi. For Giovanna, her testament was a means by which she could use her considerable property to diminish purgatorial suffering.

It has certainly been a privilege to work with the documents that Giovanna, Bene, and Stefano have left us. I have never forgotten that they were living, breathing human beings who, though they lived seven centuries before I was born, shared with me a love of place (Florence), a devotion to family and friends, and a commitment to remember those who had passed on before them. I have never forgotten my responsibility as a historian to recover the lives of the dead—to remember individuals like these three. They lived in one of the most remarkable periods in European history in one of its most remarkable cities. Although they would certainly have differed among themselves about whether the ascendancy of Florence was beneficial or harmful to the average Florentine, they all probably would have agreed that the complex of institutions and traditions that we call the Florentine church contained within it the key to the successful fulfillment of their own private destinies. When they died in the 1330s, they left the world at the close of a distinct period in the history of the Florentine church. Another phase was about to begin. That period, however, is another story, and I will leave it to another historian to resume the narrative that I leave here.

# Abbreviations

## Archives

~~AA~~<sup>AF</sup> Archivio Arcivescovile di Firenze  
~~AC~~<sup>CF</sup> Archivio del Capitolo Fiorentino  
~~AS~~<sup>SH</sup> Archivio di Stato di Firenze  
~~AS~~<sup>SL</sup> Archivio di San Lorenzo (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana)  
~~AS~~<sup>SV</sup> Archivio Segreto Vaticano  
~~AV~~<sup>VF</sup> Archivio Vescovile di Fiesole  
~~BL~~<sup>LF</sup> Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze  
~~BR~~<sup>RF</sup> Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze  
~~Comp~~<sup>Comp</sup> Compensioppressive Religiose Soppresse dal Governo Francese  
~~Ma~~<sup>AB</sup> Ba Arcivescovile—Bulletoni  
~~Ma~~<sup>AI</sup> Ba Arcivescovile—Serie I  
~~Ma~~<sup>II</sup> Ba Arcivescovile—Serie II  
~~MS~~<sup>SS</sup> Scritti  
~~Not~~<sup>Not</sup> arile Antecosimiano

## Printed Works

~~AA~~<sup>SS</sup> *sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, ed. Jean Bolland et al. Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-.  
~~AS~~<sup>SH</sup> Archivio Storico Italiano  
~~ME~~<sup>ER</sup> *Rges de l'Ecole française de Rome—moyen âge*  
~~Gi~~<sup>Lu</sup> Villani, *Nuova Crónica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta, volumes 1 and 2 (Parma: Ugo Guanda Editore); unless otherwise noted, all references are to this edition.

# Appendix A: Dating, Measurements, Names, and Currency

## Dates

Florentines dated the beginning of their year from March 25, the Feast of the Annunciation. Dates given in the text are in the common or new style, which begins January 1. Dates cited in archival call numbers are, however, in the Florentine style.

## Money

In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, Florence had a bimetallic monetary system. The gold florin (*moneta grosso*) appeared in 1252 and became an important medium of international trade. It was a real coin in actual circulation, and it had a weight of seventy-two grains. For the needs of most local transactions (wages, small purchases), however, Florentines used a wide variety of petty silver and copper coins called *monete di piccioli*. The primary coin used in day-to-day transactions was the penny, the denaro (Italian plural denari). Florentines defined the values or sums of these coins used for their transactions, however, in terms of a money of account, which did not really exist. It was the pound of silver (a weight, not a coin), the *lira di piccioli* (plural *lire di piccioli*). The lira was divided into twenty soldi (shillings) and 240 denari (pennies) each. One soldo was always worth twelve denari. The value of the soldo was linked to that of the florin from 1252. In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the petty coins used in everyday transactions underwent continual debasement and lost more and more of their silver content. The value of the soldo therefore steadily depreciated relative to that of the gold florin. In 1252, when Florentines created the gold florin, it was worth twenty *soldi di piccioli* (240 denari). In 1300 the florin was worth forty-seven soldi, but in 1330 it was worth sixty-five (a 70 percent depreciation from its value in 1252). Therefore, in 1330 the gold florin was worth 780 denari, not 240 denari (as in 1252).

Another popular money of account in the fourteenth century was the *lira affiorino* (the pound *affiorino*). One *lira affiorino* was 20/29ths of a gold florin. One *lira affiorino* equaled twenty *soldi affiorino* at twelve *denari affiorino* each. Therefore, one gold florin equaled twenty-nine *soldi affiorino* or 348 *denari affiorino*.<sup>1</sup>

## Names

Wherever possible I have used modern Italian equivalents of the Latinized names that appear in the documents. For example, I have used “Giovanni” for “Johannes” and “Francesco” for “Franciscus.” Quotations from the original documents will however retain the Latinized names. Names of non-elite Florentines often designated the geographical origins and identified fathers (alive or deceased). For example, “Giovanni di Giovanni da Signa” was Giovanni, son of Giovanni, from the town of Signa. “Giovanni del fu Giovanni da Signa,” however, was Giovanni, son of the now deceased Giovanni, from the town of Signa. Alternately, Bene di Nero could also go by Bene Neri. Around 1300 upper class Florentines such as Federico (dei) Bardi or Andrea (dei) Mozzi commonly used surnames to designate their membership in a distinguished lineage.

## Weights and Measures

The principal unit of dry measurement for grain was the *staio* (plural *staia*). Each *staio* was 24.7 liters, about seven-tenths of a bushel. One *moggio* (plural *moggia*) was equal to 24 *staia*. Grain (especially from Sicily) was measured in *salmae*, and one *salma* was worth the equivalent of 2.75 to 3.3 hectoliters (248 to 297 dry quarts). One *libbra* of weight was twelve *once*, equivalent to 339.5 grams, about seven-tenths of a pound. Regarding the measurement of land, a *staioro* was equivalent to twelve *panora*, or 525 square meters (or 5655 square feet, about one-eighth of an acre). The basic unit of liquid measurement for wine was the *cogno*. Each *cogno* consisted of 407 liters (about 92 gallons). There were 10 *barile* in each *cogno*. The *orcio* (plural *orcia*), the standard measurement for olive oil, was equivalent to about 28.86 kilograms (about 63 pounds) in the mid-fourteenth century.

## Distances

A *braccio* was 58.36 centimeters, or about two feet. A *piede* was about 55 centimeters.<sup>2</sup>

## The Cost of Living and Wages

See Tables 3 and 4 regarding the cost of living during the time of Dante (income and expenses for individual Florentines and their families). The monthly income for a skilled laborer for the period between 1289 and 1293 (100 soldi) was sufficient to cover necessary expenses for a single person (43 soldi) and just enough to support a family of four (99 soldi). A generation later (1326–32), that same skilled laborer’s monthly wage (181 soldi) was



sufficient to cover monthly expenses for a single person (78 soldi) and barely able to cover the major expenses for a family of four (177 soldi). An unskilled laborer would not have been able to support a family of four between 1289 and 1293 or 1326 and 1332. Supplementary sources of income would have been necessary.

# Appendix B: A Checklist of Notarial Protocols for a Study of Ecclesiastical Institutions

The list below contains the call numbers from the Notarile Ante-cosimiano (NA) in the Florentine state archive (ASF) for the protocols most frequently cited in this book, along with the associated geographical location or ecclesiastical institution, name of notary, and dates. The names, usually last name first, appear as they do in the inventories (*inventari*) of the NA in the ASF.

## *Call Number Ecclesiastical Institution or Location (Notary)*

- 448 Monastery of San Miniato al Monte (Andrea di Nerino, 1317–20)
- 950-521; Settimo (Arrigo di Benintendo, 1308–14, 1314–17)
- 950-971; Attaviano di Chiaro, 1254–75, 1266–91, 1275–95)
- 118 Bartolo di Genovese, 1320–24
- 2780 bishopric (Benedetto di Martino da Firenze, 1303–4)
- 272011 (Benedetto di Tano, 1304–20)
- 2544-60 Maria Impruneta (Benintendi di Guittone, 1296–1347, 1300–1340, 1321–23, 1321–48, 1323–27, 1327–32, 1330–31)
- 2410 Florence (San Lorenzo, San Procolo, Sant’Appollinare) (Bernardi Buonaccorso, 1298–1305)
- 3410-413 Florence (Santa Maria Maggiore; Santa Maria Novella; Santa Stefano in Pane) (Bondoni Ugucione da Firenze, 1300–1304, 1304–8, 1315–16, 1319–22)
- 3480-811 Florence; Santa Maria di Cintoia, *pieve* of San Giovanni (Bonizzi Bonizzo, 1297–1350, 1314–21)
- 3480-821 Petrognano (Sant’Appiano) (Buoninsegna di Guarnieri da Petrognano, 1311–27, 1327–32)
- 3492-915 Montegio (*pieve* of Santo Stefano di Botena) (Buonsignore di Rimberto da Rostolena, 1303–11, 1310–13, 1311–13, 1313–18)
- 4110 Florence (San Giorgio, Santa Maria sopr’Arno) (Cantapecchi Giovanni, 1287–97)
- 4110-910 Monteloro; Monteloro; Monte di Croce (Cassi Bernardo, 1311–14)
- 6074-618 Mugello (Dietaiuti di Simone da Mucciano, 1296–99, 1318–23, 1319–25, 1323–24, 1324–25)
- 6168-70 Florence (Santa Felicita in Piazza) (Dini di Lotto da Firenze, 1314–21, 1314–29, 1317–19)
- 6180-811 Dogino di Conte da Linari, 1305–7, 1307–12)

- 6695 Florence (Santa Maria Novella) (Faccioli Buonaccorso, 1297–1300)
- 7870–7120 (Francesco di Buoninsegna da Vespignano, 1306–9, 1316–27, 1321–33)
- 8046 Vespignano (Francesco di Pagno, 1322–31)
- 8440–45 Napoli; cathedral chapter (Gennari Mazzingho, 1319–25, 1319–26, 1326–30)
- 9636 Castelfiorentino (Giovanni di Giovanni da Castelfiorentino, 1301–8)
- 9400–9502 Vespignano, San Godenzo, Ampinana) (Giovanni di Buto da Ampinana, 1299–1304, 1305–7, 1307–16, 1314–6, 1316–9, 1319–25, 1326–28, 1325–26, 1328–30, 1330–32)
- 9560–70 Maria a Greve; Calenzano; Florence (Giovanni di Gino da Calenzano, 1313–14, 1314–19)
- 13118 Appiano, Linari (Jacopo di Giovanni da Linari, 1326–33)
- 13260–61 Maria Impruneta (Ildebrandino or Dino di Benvenuto, 1276–1311)
- 13262 Pella (Ildebrandino di Accatto, 1269–79)
- 13388 Florence (San Lorenzo) (Lando di Ubaldino, 1318–26)
- 13484 bishopric (episcopal court) (Lapo di Gianni Ricevuti)
- 13506–27 Maffei da Settimo, 1300–1315, 1300–1315)
- 13525–67 Croce; the *inquisitio heretice pravitatis*; community of *pinzochere* at Santa Croce; San Simone (Obizzo di Pontremoli, 1301–10, 1303–11, 1296–1304)
- 13688 Florence (Santa Felicita) (Orlando di Dino da Barberino, 1310–11)
- 13707–108 (pieve of San Giovanni Maggiore) (Ottaviano d'Albertino da Pulicciano, 1322–29, 1330–35)
- 13777–78 Cione (Ranieri da Cione, 1299–1300, 1314–33)
- 13869 Castelfiorentino (Ricevuto d'Andrea, 1295–1306)
- 13880–84 Castelfiorentino (Scarlatti di Benvenuti da Castelfiorentino, 1303–9, 1309–47)
- 13964 Florence (Santa Felicita in Piazza) (Simone di Dino da Petrognano, 1288–1303)
- 20716 Cathedral Chapter (Uguccione di Uberto)
- 20722 Pozzolatico (Zanobi di Bartolo da Pozzolatico, 1327–35)

# Appendix C: Papal Provisions and Expectatives

## Papal Provisions, Dioceses of Florence and Fiesole

### ~~Benefice~~ Awarded by Papacy

|                                                                         |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <del>Ubaldo</del> (San Leoluca) / Innocent IV                           | 1  |
| <del>Bartolomeo</del> (S. Co.) / Cardinal Deacon                        | 2  |
| <del>Ubaldo</del> (Cathedral Chapter) / Innocent IV                     | 3  |
| <del>Ubaldo</del> (C. C.) / Alexander IV                                | 4  |
| <del>Ubaldo</del> (C. C.) / Alexander IV                                | 5  |
| <del>Roberto</del> (S. La.) / Roberto di Frescobaldi                    | 6  |
| <del>Roberto</del> (S. L.) / degli Adimari                              | 7  |
| <del>Roberto</del> (S. L.) / Santa Margarita (Florence)                 | 8  |
| <del>Roberto</del> (Ravenna) / Roberto                                  | 9  |
| <del>Roberto</del> (C. C.) / Nicholas IV                                | 10 |
| <del>Roberto</del> (C. C.) / Nicholas IV                                | 11 |
| <del>Roberto</del> (C. C.) / Clarendon                                  | 12 |
| <del>Roberto</del> (S. Apollinare) / Boniface VIII                      | 13 |
| <del>Roberto</del> (S. Maria) / Boniface VIII                           | 14 |
| <del>Roberto</del> (S. Antonio) / Boniface VIII                         | 15 |
| <del>Roberto</del> (Fiesole) / Card. Legate                             | 16 |
| <del>Roberto</del> (S. Bartolomeo) /                                    | 17 |
| <del>Roberto</del> (S. Lorenzo) /                                       | 18 |
| <del>Roberto</del> (S. Colle Val d'Eisa) /                              | 19 |
| <del>Roberto</del> (S. Nicola) / Quercio, Cavriglia, Diocese of Fiesole | 20 |

## Expectatives

The following list of Florentines were slated to receive or were those who had already received benefices during the pontificate of Boniface VIII.<sup>21</sup>

1. Jacopo di Pazzino dei Pazzi (next benefice in Florence or Fiesole, March 25, 1300)
2. Federico di Bartolo dei Bardi (next benefice, February 1, 1301)
3. Roberto di Guido da Battifolle (priorate of Sant' Apollinare; October 28, 1301)
4. Guido di Tegghia dei Frescobaldi (canon, San Jacopo d'Oltarno; next benefice, December, 1301)

5. Malpiglio di Cecchino dei Bardi (rectorship, hospital San Jacopo di Sant'Eusebio, petitioned to pope for son by father by 1302)
6. Federico di Bartolo dei Bardi (made prior of Santa Maria sopra Porta, September 2, 1302).
7. Jacopo dei Tornaquinci (made prior of Santo Stefano al Ponte, January 3<sup>d</sup> 1303)
8. Accarito di Rainerio dei Buondelmonti (eleven years old; next free benefice; March 23, 1303).

# *Appendix D: Patronage Rights in Ecclesiastical Institutions*

## Patrons and Their Institutions

### **Bishopric of Florence**

Archdeaconate of cathedral chapter of Florence;<sup>1</sup> Cintoia; Ognissanti; Ospedale di Buonamico; Ospedale di Ponte di Greve; San Casciano di Padule (*pieve* in the Mugello); San Colombano di Montacuto (*pieve* of Campoli); San Cresci in Valcava (*pieve*, Mugello); San Donato a Torri (convent); San Fabbiano (*pieve* of Campoli); San Geminiano di Petroio; San Giovanni di Remole (Mugello, near Pontassieve); San Jacopo della Valle (hospital, *pieve* of San Donato in Poggio); San Lorenzo di Borgo (*pieve*, Mugello); San Lorenzo di Galiga (*pieve* of Doccia); San Lorenzo di Montefiesole (Val di Sieve); San Lorenzo di Montisoni (*pieve* of Antella); San Martino di Petroio (*pieve* of Acone, Val di Sieve); San Martino di Vespignano; San Michele di Carza; San Miniato di Montelupo (*pieve* of Giogoli); San Miniato al Monte (monastery); San Miniato di Piazzano (Mugello); San Miniato di Poppiano (*pieve* of Campoli); San Niccolò di Vico (*pieve* of Campoli); San Piero di Casaglia; San Pietro di Sopra (*pieve* of Décimo); San Pietro di Vaglia (*pieve*, Mugello); San Pietro in Bossolo (*pieve*, Val di Pesa); San Rofillo; San Salvatore; San Sepolcro di Monticelli (*pieve* of San Giovanni); Santa Cecilia a Décimo (*pieve*); Santa Felicità (monastery); Sant'Agnolo ad Argiano (*pieve* of Décimo, Val di Pesa); Sant'Alessandro di Vitigliano (Mugello); Sant'Andrea di Doccia (*pieve*, Val di Sieve); Sant'Andrea di Fabbrica; Sant'Andrea di Montegiovi (*pieve* of Borgo San Lorenzo, Mugello); Santa Lucia di Pievevecchia; Santa Margarita di Aceraia (*pieve* of Acone, Val di Sieve); Santa Maria Vergine di Torre (Val di Pesa);<sup>2</sup> Santa Maria di Montefiore (*pieve* of Ripoli); Santa Maria di Soli; Santa Maria di Acone (*pieve*, Val di Sieve); Santa Maria d'Olmi (*pieve* of San Lorenzo a Borgo (Mugello); Santa Maria Maddalena di Filettole (contado of Prato); Santa Reparata di Pimonte (Mugello); Sant'Eustachio di Acone (Val di Sieve); Sant'Ippolito di Castelfiorentino (*pieve*); Santo Stefano in Botena (Mugello); Santo Stefano di Campoli (*pieve*);<sup>3</sup> Santo Stefano di Pitella (*pieve* of Doccia, Val di Sieve); Santo Stefano a Pozzolatico (documented 1252, contested by Impruneta *pieve*, 1308); San Vito di Soffignano (*contado* of Prato).

## **Bishopric of Fiesole as Patron**

Antica (*pieve*); San Babillo (patronage shared with counts);<sup>4</sup> San Lorenzo a Diacceto; Santa Maria in Campo (Florence); Santo Stefano di Castiglione (*pieve*).

## **Monastery of Santa Maria in Firenze (Badia) as Patron**

San Martino a Mensola; San Martino del Vescovo (Florence); San Bartolomeo (*pieve* of Monterrapoli); San Procolo (Florence).<sup>5</sup>

## **Cathedral Chapter as Patron**

Figline (*pieve*);<sup>6</sup> Sant'Andrea al Castagnolo (Settimo); Sant'Andrea in Mercato Vecchio (Florence);<sup>7</sup> Sant'Apollinare; San Bartolo a Cintoia; San Donnino di Villa Magna;<sup>8</sup> San Giovanni Battista (*pieve*); San Giovanni Evangelista (hospital); San Giovanni di Signa (*pieve*);<sup>9</sup> San Marco (chaplaincy);<sup>10</sup> Santa Maria Maggiore (Florence); San Matteo (Florence); San Michele a Ronta (Mugello).

## ***Pievi* or Parishioners Holding Patronage Rights**

Santa Maria Sopr'Arno; Santa Maria Impruneta;<sup>11</sup> San Michele a Nizzano (Impruneta); Santa Maria Impruneta.<sup>12</sup>

## **Families Holding Patronage Rights to Churches**

Sant'Andrea and San Lorenzo di Linari (Buondelmonti/Scolari);<sup>13</sup> Santa Annunziata, hospital, Castro Figline, (Serristori); San Bartolomeo al Mugnone, oratory and hospital (Benuzzio Senni);<sup>14</sup> Santa Brígida, *pieve* of Lobaco (Pazzi, from 1326);<sup>15</sup> Santa Cristina a Pancole, *pieve* of Impruneta (Gherardini);<sup>16</sup> San Donato Scopeto (Pilastrì);<sup>17</sup> San Giorgio Roballa, Antella (Pilastrì);<sup>18</sup> San Martino di Sommara (Caccioni da San Miniato);<sup>19</sup> Santa Maria a Novóle (Visdomini); Santa Maria di Carpineta (Gherardini, Amidei);<sup>20</sup> Santa Maria Carmignano (Accattapani); Santa Maria Impruneta (Buondelmonti/ Scolari);<sup>21</sup> Santa Maria di Mantignano (Nerli);<sup>22</sup> Santa Maria Nuova, hospital (Portinari);<sup>23</sup> Santa Maria di Toppiano a Monterecci, hospital (Donati); San Martino di Sommara, Monterrapoli (Caccioni da San Miniato);<sup>24</sup> San Michele di Monte Trepaldi (Bardi);<sup>25</sup> San Michele Visdomini (Visdomini);<sup>26</sup> San Miniato fra le Torri (Pilastrì and Alamanni);<sup>27</sup> San Pietro di Solicciano (Nerli);<sup>28</sup> San Quirico di Roballa (Cappiardi until 1314; Peruzzi after 1314);<sup>29</sup> Santo Stefano alle Corti (Bardi).



## Monasteries and Convents Holding Patronage Rights (patron in parentheses)

San Bartolo di Montalto (San Miniato al Monte);<sup>30</sup> San Bartolomeo di Buonsollazzo (San Salvatore di Settimo, from 1320);<sup>31</sup> San Bartolomeo di Figline (San Michele di Passignano);<sup>32</sup> San Blasio di Passignano (San Michele di Passignano); San Cresci (Bishopric until 1255; San Pietro di Moscheta after 1255);<sup>33</sup> San Giorgio di Firenze (San Pietro di Luco);<sup>34</sup> San Jacopo di Mucciano (San Michele di Passignano); Santa Lucia Ognissanti (Bishop until 1251; Umiliati friars after); Santa Maria di Vicésimo (San Michele di Passignano); Santa Maria Magnoli (San Miniato al Monte); Santa Maria di Rifredi (San Pietro di Luco);<sup>35</sup> Santa Maria sopr'Arno (Santa Maria Impruneta);<sup>36</sup> San Martino alia Palma (San Salvatore di Settimo);<sup>37</sup> San Michele a Nizzano (Santa Maria Impruneta);<sup>38</sup> San Niccolò di Casale, Fiesole (San Godenzo);<sup>39</sup> San Niccolò di Luco (San Pietro di Luco);<sup>40</sup> San Paolo in Mosciano (San Miniato al Monte);<sup>41</sup> San Piero ad Erna (San Miniato al Monte);<sup>42</sup> San Niccolò di Luco (San Pietro di Luco);<sup>43</sup> San Pietro di Solicciano (Santa Maria di Mantignano);<sup>44</sup> San Romolo (or San Niccolò) di Quercio (San Michele di Passignano); Sant'Andrea di Poggialvento (San Michele di Passignano); Sant'Ilario a Pitigliolo (Santa Maria Impruneta, from 1308).<sup>45</sup>

## San Lorenzo as Patron

San Lorenzo, hospital; San Michele Bertilde (or Bertelde).

## Parishioners Holding Patronage Rights (patrons in parentheses)

Sant'Andrea di Vico (Sant'Appiano);<sup>46</sup> San Bartolomeo di Faltignano;<sup>47</sup> Santa Brigida, *pieve* of Lobaco (parishioners until 1326);<sup>48</sup> Santa Cristina a Pancole (Impruneta);<sup>49</sup> San Colombano di Montaguto (Campoli);<sup>50</sup> San Cresci in Valcava;<sup>51</sup> Santa Fabbrica (*pieve* of Valcava);<sup>52</sup> San Filippo di Sanfilippi;<sup>53</sup> San Gallo, hospital (Guidalotto Volto dell'Orco/papacy 1259–94/guilds 1294–);<sup>54</sup> San Jacopo di Fraseóle (Fiesole);<sup>55</sup> Santa Maria di Porrena (Romana, Fiesole);<sup>56</sup> San Pietro di Varlungo.<sup>57</sup>

## Families and Monastery Holding Patronage Rights (patron in parenthesis)

San Bartolomeo di Valle, Fiesole (Gherardini/Passignano).<sup>58</sup>

## Contested Patronage

- Sant' Andrea (urban): Bishop versus cathedral chapter (settled 1292)[59](#)
- Santa Maria di Campi (Campi)[60](#)
- Santa Maria Impruneta (*pieve*): Buondelmonti versus Federico dei Bardi (supported by papacy)[61](#)
- Santa Maria di Rifredo: Camaldoli challenged patronage rights of San Pietro di Luco[62](#)
- Santa Maria Nuova (hospital, urban): Portinari versus rectors and conversi[63](#)
- San Michele Visdomini (urban): Visdomini versus?[64](#)
- San Quirico di Roballa: Cappiardi versus Peruzzi[65](#) (agreement favored Peruzzi in 1314)
- Santo Stefano di Campoli (*pieve*): Bishop versus Stefano de Broy over archpriestship of Campoli (1295–1307)[66](#)
- Santo Stefano a Pozzolatico (Impruneta): Archpriest of Impruneta versus bishop (1308)[67](#)
- San Romolo (or Niccolò) di Quercio (Fiesole): Passignano versus Gottifredo di Rosso dei Tosinghi (resolved in favor of Passignano)

## Contested Elections

**R266** orship of San Martino alia Palma: San Salvatore di Settimo versus Lapo di Filippo dei Gangalandi.[68](#)

**C270** orship in San Lorenzo: conflict over successor of Ruggero dei Frescobaldi

**C281** orship in cathedral chapter: Cathedral chapter of Florence versus archpriest of Pistoia, who claimed he had received prebend from papal legate, Cardinal Latino.[69](#)

**S291** Stefano de Broy: he protested to the *prepositus* of the cathedral chapter that other canon had been elected to his detriment.[70](#)

**A295** orship of Campoli: Stefano de Broy versus bishopric

**C307** orship of the treasurer of the cathedral chapter: Giovanni dei Machiavelli versus the cathedral chapter[71](#)

**R307** orship of San Cristofano a Strada (Impruneta): Presbyter Nesi, rector, claimed he was canonically elected. Appealed to archpriest and won (with agreement of patrons)[72](#)

**A307** acy of San Godenzo (monastery): Monks appealed to the papacy over election of Pace di Gualterono as abbot by Bishop Antonio of Fiesole[73](#)

**A316** acy of Vallombrosa: Bartolo dei Ceci (abbot of San Mercuriale di Forlì) versus abbots of daughter houses of Vallombrosa (1316)[74](#)

**P319** orship of Signa: Cathedral chapter versus Presbyter Michele[75](#)

**R324** orship of San Giorgio Impruneta: *Cappellano* Margarito of Impruneta versus Tedaldo di Bartolo (*clerico*) of Florence[76](#)

**R~~27~~**Worship of San Romolo (or San Niccolò) di Quercio: Gottifredo di Rosso  
della Tosa vs. monastery of Passignano and men of Castro San Giovanni77

## *Appendix E: Major Locations of Ecclesiastical Property, 1250–1330*

### The Bishopric

The bishopric of Florence held significant amounts of property in the following locations: Santa Lucia a Pievevecchia, Pagliariccio, the lower Val di Sieve, Montebuiano, Galiga, Bossolo, Molezzano, Sieci, Campestri, Castelfiorentino, Aceraia, Doccia, Valcava, Rabbiacanina, Montefiesole, Bisarno, Cafaggio (Florence), Pimonte, Campoli or Montecampolese, Varlungo, Fornello, Santa Brígida, Fabbica, San Casciano a Décimo, Linari, Vico, Padule, San Martino Episcopi, Monterotondo, Signa, Capalle, Borgo San Lorenzo, Tralarcora, and Florence (central parishes).

### The Cathedral Chapter

The principal locations of landed possessions of the Cathedral Chapter of Florence were the following: Santa Maria a Quinto, Quinto, Mantignano, Cafaggio of the Chapter (Camporeggio, parish of San Lorenzo, Florence), Via Guelfa (parish of San Lorenzo), Florence (Borgo San Lorenzo, Via di Baila, Via San Gallo, Via Nuova, San Procolo, Santa Maria sopra Porta), Gangalandi, Campi, Signa, the banks of the Mugnone (suburbs of Florence), Ripoli, San Bartolo di Cintoia, Lignoria, Calenzano, and in the Mugello Valley (Pulicciano, Molezzano, Campiano).

### Chapter of San Lorenzo

Major properties of the chapter of San Lorenzo were located in the following locations: Florence (Parish of San Lorenzo), Borgo San Lorenzo (Florence), Cafaggio (Florence), Santo Stefano in Pane, Peretola (Santa Maria a Peretola), along the banks of the Mugnone River west of Florence, San Pietro a Careggi, and Monterecci.

### Bishopric of Fiesole (to 1337)

The bishopric of Fiesole held significant possessions at Cafaggio near the Mugnone River (parish of the Badia of Fiesole), Agna, Santo Stefano di Castiglione (near Rufina), Rufina, Petrognano, Turicchi, Montebonello, San

Detolo (near Dicomano), San Lorenzo di Basciano, Monteloro, parish of San Salvatore di Valle, Vignale, Ripalta (Figline), the Mugnone Valley, Ortignano, and Monte Ceceri.

# Chronology of Significant Events Mentioned in Text

- P250-60**ere create community around Santa Croce
- A250-51**riars, Servite friars, and the Umiliati establish urban communities
- B255**op begins selling land north of city walls (Cafaggio)
- C255-57**ersies over convent of Sant'Ellero and communal taxation arise
- C267-68**struction of Carmelite convent and church begins
- L272-89**pute over ownership of house in parish of San Lorenzo occurs
- P274**l decretal, *Quamquam*, is issued
- L274-86**iscopal vacancy follows death of Bishop Giovanni dei Mangiadori
- C279**inal Malabranca Latino sent to pacify commune; construction begins on new friary of Santa Maria Novella
- C284**struction begins on new structure of the Badia and on new circle of walls
- C285-86**between clergy and commune over “fictitious clerks”
- F286**documented ceremonial ritual entry of new bishop into city
- S287**um generale established at Santa Croce
- P287-89**ivi teaches at Santa Croce and meets Ubertino da Cásale
- S291**ino de Broy receives prebend in cathedral chapter
- C292**itive miracles are reported at Orsanmichele
- B293**op Andrea Mozzi tries to appoint nephew treasurer of cathedral chapter
- C294-96**ction begins on new friary of Santa Croce
- B295-1307**d Stefano de Broy contest election to archpriestship of *pieve* of Santo Stefano di Campoli
- T296**commune renames its cathedral Santa Maria del Fiore
- C299**y (diocese of Fiesole) are required to provide subsidy to finance new cathedral of Florence
- P300**l decretal, *Super cathedram*, is issued
- C304-09**inal Niccolò da Prato interdicts city
- S305**um generale is established at Santa Maria Novella
- P306**l legate levies 690 florin impost on clergy
- T308**bishop promulgates the Synodal constitution of 1310
- T320-20**li Chapel and its frescoes by Giotto are completed
- T321**bishop gives clergy the permission to create a congregation of the clergy and to confraternity of priests the license to construct a hospital (*Domus Dei*) in parish of San Lorenzo
- A322**of Vallombrosan monasteries contest election of prior general Bartolomeo dei Ceci

**122** The *podestà* is excommunicated over Impruneta controversy

**123** Commune of Florence imposes levy of twenty thousand florins on clergy;

*Studium generale* established at Santa Maria del Carmine

**126** Procurators of clergy discuss suspension of divine services due to *gabelle*

**127** Papacy grants legate Orsini income of vacant Badia (twenty thousand florins); bishop promulgates Synodal constitution of 1327

**128** Legate (with papal consent) imposes levy of ten thousand florins on clergy; clergy issues interdict on commune related to payment of communal tax

**131** Papacy imposes interdict on city over Impruneta; exhumation and translation of the remains of St. Zenobius in cathedral take place

**137** Papacy abolishes office of treasurer of cathedral chapter



# Notes

## Introduction

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

1. Villani *Nuova cronica* VIII.155, 1:628; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 196–208; Leoncini, “I luoghi della devozione Mariana a Firenze: Or San Michele.”

2. For the purposes of this book, the word “church” will have two senses. On a broad level, as suggested by Robert N. Swanson, the “church” is the mystical spiritual body of “baptized Christians who acknowledged the papacy as their earthly head, and which might be extended to incorporate other Christians who had fallen into heresy or error.” A more restricted definition encompasses the institutional structures created by the demands of the religion. These structures—jurisdictional, administrative, and bureaucratic—collected taxes, adjudicated disputes, excommunicated the disobedient, promulgated laws, performed marriages, and ordained priests. The book will rely on both definitions. At the apex of this structure was of course the papacy (Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, 6–7). See also *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, s. v. “church.”

3. Ginatempo and Sandri, *L'Italia delle città*, 105–6, 260.

4. Villani, XI.91–94 (1823, ed.), 177–89, esp. 183.

5. Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 229–48; Wickham, *Legge, pratiche*, esp. 54, 55 174, 280–86; *The Mountains and the City*, 130–31; *Community and Clientele*, 13–15.

6. Philip Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 277 and chap. 3; Brucker, *Florence*, 66–67, 109; Wickham, *Community and Clientele*, 13–14; Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 238–55; Tangheroni, “Il sistema economico della Toscana nel trecento”; and Pinto, “L'Economia della Toscana nella seconda metà del duecento,” 13–24, esp. 15.

7. Brucker, *Florence*, 124, 171; Tangheroni, “Il sistema economico,” 53; Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 238–241.

8. Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye*, 3–6; Villani XI.163, 2:725.

9. “La gente nuova e i subiti guadagni/orgoglio e dismisura han generata./Fiorenza, in te, sì che tu già ten piagni” (Dante, *Inferno*, canto 16, lines 63–66, English, 73–75, Italian, trans. Pinsky, pp. 163–64). For the cultural effects of such change, see Leonardi, “La spiritualità a Firenze,” 23, 26. Regarding the phrase, “rise to supremacy,” see Luzzato, *An Economic History*, 98.

10. Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 277 (with extensive bibliography); Brucker, *Florence*, 124–25; Epstein, *Genoa*, 159; Luzzato, *An Economic History of Italy*, 89, 96–106; Meek, *Lucca, 1369–1400*, 1–5, 27–29; Tognetti, *Da Figline a Firenze*, 9 (with bibliography on Florentine expansion); Connell and Zorzi, eds., *Florentine Tuscany*, esp. 6–31; Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families*, 34; Molà et al., eds., *La seta in Italia*, 35, 191, 265; Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*, 65, 223–31; Hoshino, *Industria tessile*, 4–11; Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune*, 159–83; Findlen, Fontaine, and Osheim, eds., *Beyond Florence*, Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 238–53; Tangheroni, “Il sistema economico.”

11. The fundamental work on the Florentine church until now remains Robert Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz* (Berlin, 1896–1927), translated into Italian as *Storia di Firenze*, 8 vols., by Giovanni Battista Klein. Davidsohn excerpted the portions of this multivolume work that concerned the Florence of Dante into a single volume. The Italian translation is *Firenze ai tempi di Dante*. Also essential is Davidsohn's *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, 4 vols., which are basically Davidsohn's research notes. For Burckhardt, see *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 2: 444–46.

12. For the major works on the Florentine church in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see the entries in the bibliography published by Anna Benvenuti Papi, William Bowsky (on San Lorenzo), George Dameron, Robert Davidsohn, John Henderson, Philip Jones, David Herlihy (“Santa Maria Impruneta”), Charles de La Roncière, Renzo Nelli, Brunetto Quilici, Richard Trexler, and Ronald Weissman.

13. For two examples of recent surveys, see Najemy, “Dante and Florence,” and Cherubini, “La

Firenze di Dante e di Giovanni Villani.”

14. Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 249.

15. As far as I know, Jacques Le Goff is the first historian to argue that the idea of purgatory, “by making the salvation of the usurer possible, contributed to the birth of capitalism” (*The Birth of Purgatory*, 305). For Provence, see Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà*.

16. Wickham, *Legge, pratiche*, 280–91.

17. Riccetti, “Il vescovo Francesco Monaldeschi,” 210. For the importance of the local parish priest in the local economy of the Lucchese parish, see Osheim, “The Country Parish in Late Medieval Lucca.”

18. Rubinstein, *The Palazzo Vecchio*, esp. chap. 1; Trachtenberg, “Founding the Palazzo Vecchio in 1299,” and *Dominion of the Eye*.

19. See above, note 12, on Florentine ecclesiastical historiography for major works.

20. Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 294–95, 297; Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye*, 4.

21. This is one of the principle themes of Davidsohn’s multivolume *Geschichte von Florenz*. For presentations of this perspective, see Lawrence, *The Friars*, esp. 6, 18, 126; Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 297; Little, *Religious Poverty*, chap. 9.

22. For an overview of the conflict between the mendicants and the seculars, see Lawrence, *The Friars*, esp. chap. 8. For a recent synthesis that argues for a balanced view of the mendicant-secular rivalry, see Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 58, 244–45. For recent studies on the secular clergy, see *Le clerc séculier au moyen âge*; *Le clergé rural dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne*; Paravicini Bagliani and Pasche, eds., *La parrocchia nel medio evo*; *Economia, scambi, solidarietà*; Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*, 241–58.

23. See, for example, La Roncière, “Dans la campagne florentine,” and “Aspects de la religiosité populaire.” This book corroborates for the two dioceses of Florence and Fiesole as a whole some of the more restricted conclusions regarding the rural secular clergy first advanced in those essays by Charles de La Roncière for the Val d’Elsa. For a similarly positive assessment of the role of the parish priest in the local Lucchese parish between 1200 and 1400, see Osheim, “The Country Parish in Late Medieval Lucca.”

24. Sestan, “Roberto Davidsohn e la sua storia di Firenze,” xxiv–xxvii; Gregorovius, *History of the City Rome in the Middle Ages*; Salvemini, *Magnati e popolani in Firenze dal 1280 al 1292*.

25. Sestan, “Roberto Davidsohn e la sua storia di Firenze,” xxx–xxxi.

26. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7: 3, 5.

27. For recent syntheses of Western church history, see Thomson, *The Western Church*; Lynch, *The Medieval Church*; Van Engen, “The ‘Crisis of Cenobitism’ Reconsidered” and “The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem”; Lerner, introduction to the translation of Grundmann’s *Religious Movements*, ix–xxv; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 582–655; Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church*, 3–6. Selected examples of the institutional approach to church history include Fliche and Martin, eds., *Histoire de l’église depuis les origines jusqu’à nos jours*; Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*; Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*; and Waley, *The Papal State in the Thirteenth Century*. The basic reference work for an institutional history of the church is Jedin and Dolan, eds., *Handbook of Church History*. Examples of works that stress the importance of gender, social, and political developments in church history include Volpe, *Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali nella società medievale italiana*; Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*; Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*; Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast*; and Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*. Selected texts for the history of the medieval Italian church include Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 290–98; Ronzani, “Vescovi, capitoli e strategie famigliari nell’Italia comunale”; Miccoli, “La storia religiosa”; *Vescovi e diocesi in Italia nel medioevo (sec. XI–XIII)*; *Pievi e parrocchie in Italia*; Chittolini and Miccoli, eds., *La chiesa e il potere politico dal medioevo all’età contemporanea*; Sambin, *L’ordinamento parrocchiale di Padova nel medioevo*; Violante, *Ricerche sulle istituzioni ecclesiastiche dell’Italia centrosettentrionale nel medioevo*; Manselli, *La religion populaire au moyen âge*; Rigon, *Clero e città*; Benvenuti Papi, “*In castro poenitentiae*”; Golinelli, *Città e culto dei santi nel medioevo italiano*; Brentano, *A New World in a Small Place*; Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399* and “Women and Religion in Late Medieval Italy”; Osheim, *A Tuscan Monastery*; Miller, *The Bishop’s Palace*; Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*; Dameron, *Episcopal Power*.

28. For a trenchant critique of conservative readings of Florentine history that eliminate class conflict, see Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye*, 1–7.

29. Villani, as cited in Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*, 3–4; Becker, *Florence in Transition*, 1:60–61. Becker characterized Florentine society before the 1340s as constituting a “gentle *paideia*”;

After that decade, he argued the ideal of governance shifted to a “stern” *paideia* (60–61; quote from 61). La Roncière addressed the oppressive effects of papal and episcopal taxation in “Condizioni economiche,” 345. Trexler was the first historian, however, to stress the significance of communal taxation on the church in the early fourteenth century (especially in 1323). See Textler, “Death and Testament,” 35–36.

30. For a selected listing of notarial protocols in the Archivio di Stato that specifically concern ecclesiastical institutions, see Appendix B.

31. Cherubini, “La Firenze di Santa Maria del Fiore,” 27–28; Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 232, 252–54; Fiumi, “Fioritura e decadenza” (1958), 465, 469–82; La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 644, 676; Salimbene de Adam, *The Chronicle of Salimbene*, 61; Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families*, 65–69; *Il libro del Biadaiolo*, 75–76, and *Toscana medioevale*, 15; Wickham, *Legge, pratiche*, 188–89. For a recent general overview of Florentine history, see Dameron, “Florence.” For the most recent assessment of population trends in Florence and its countryside before the Black Death, see Day, “The Population of Florence,” esp. 120–29.

32. Wickham, *Legge, pratiche*, 280–91. For Florentine expansion into the countryside after 1200, see the works of Zorzi cited in the bibliography.

33. In Pisa, for example, the first city for which we have mention of this office, the consulate was in existence by 1085. At Pistoia it had emerged by 1105. See Waley, *The Italian City-Republics*, 32–35; De Rosa, *Alle origini*, 9–12.

34. With regard to this office, Florence was again behind other communes. For example, it emerged a generation earlier in Bologna (1151). See De Rosa, *Alle origini*, 16–17.

35. De Rosa, *Alle origini*, 159.

36. White, *Art and Architecture*, 65.

37. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, vii–viii, 4–6, 27, 77–88; Schevill, *History of Florence*, 137–39.

38. Charles I of Anjou, working with the full support of the papacy, allowed Florentine bankers to work in Anjou and Maine, his two principal fiefs. Florentines advanced loans to Charles in exchange for the right to trade in the Regno (the kingdom of Naples) (Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 41, 83–86, 119). For an account of how economic and political connections linked these actually worked, see Hunt, *The Medieval Super-Companies*; Luzzato, *An Economic History of Italy*, 97–98.

39. Tarassi, “Il regime guelfo,” 140–41.

40. For background on the magnates, see Dameron, “Revisiting the Italian Magnates”; Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates*; and Becker, “A Study in Political Failure.”

41. For background, see Dameron, “Revisiting the Italian Magnates,” and Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates*; Oerter, “Campaldino, 1289.”

42. White, *Art and Architecture*, 241.

43. Raveggi et al., eds., *Ghibellini, Guelfi*, 43n.

44. Dino Compagni, *Dino Compagni's Chronicle*, 48, 56–57; Villani IX.60, 2:109–10, and XI.119, 2:670; Pinto, “Coltura e produzione,” 276, and *Il libro del Biadaiolo*, 52; ASF, Diplomatico, Archivio Generale, May 21, 1305; ASF, Diplomatico, Rosano, December 19, 1301; Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 254.

45. See Zorzi, “L’organizzazione del territorio,” Najemy, *Corporation and Consensus*, 73–74, 102–3, 106–8, 133.

46. Wickham, *Legge, pratiche*, 35–37, 174; Zorzi, “L’organizzazione del territorio,” 310–11.

47. Zorzi, “L’organizzazione del territorio,” 308–45; Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 255–62. For post-1350 developments regarding the creation of the Florentine state, see Cohn, *Creating the Florentine State*. For the Mugello, see Dameron, “A World of Its Own.”

48. For an overview of the life of Umliana, see Benvenuti Papi, “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 59–98; for Stefano de Broy, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:602–3, 7:14–17.

49. For information on the Baptistery and cathedral, see the essays in the three volumes of *Atti del VII centenario del duomo di Firenze*; *Il bel San Giovanni e Santa Maria del Fiore*; Paolucci, ed., *Il Battistero di San Giovanni*; Toker, “A Baptistery: Below the Baptistery of Florence”; Kreytenberg, *Der Dom*.

50. Toker, “Florence Cathedral,” 217–20, and “On Holy Ground,” 546–56; Morozzi, “La cattedrale di Santa Reparata,” 140–43.

51. For a general orientation to the topography of the city between 1250 and 1330, I have relied on the studies by Franklin Toker, cited in the bibliography; Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye*; Spilner, “*Ut Civitas Amplietur*,” esp. chaps. 1 and 5; Sznura, *L’espansione urbana*; Fanelli, *Firenze: Architettura e città*; *Rationes decimarum* 1:10–15; Quilici, “La chiesa di Firenze,” 282–87; Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 91–123; Benvenuti Papi, “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 3–16; White, *Art and*

Architettura, 27–28, 30, and my own perusal of the documents. Whereas Quilici counted forty-seven noncollegiate parish churches within the city, I counted fifty (based on the *Rationes decimarum*). Davidsohn (*Storia di Firenze*, 7: 107ff.) presents a portrait of the ecclesiastical layout of the city, but he uses Villani's 1339 statistics. In that description, for 1339, there were fifty-seven parishes. For information on the early pastoral history (pre-1250) of the canons of San Lorenzo, see “‘Populus Sancti Laurentii’: Cura d'anime, una parrocchia e un prete,” reprinted in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 91–156 (esp. 91–123). For the cathedral, see Toker, “Florence Cathedral.” For the early establishment of mendicant communities in the city, see Benvenuti Papi, “Mendicanti a Firenze,” printed in “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 3–16, esp. 6n–7n; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 105–6. For the sale of land in 1250 by Jacopo dei Tornaquinci and his brothers to Friar Roffino and the Umiliati near the church where they were establishing an urban community, see ASF, Diplomatico, Strozziante-Uguccioni, May 30, 1250. On September 11, 1251, the bishop granted them his church (*cappella*) of Santa Lucia for the symbolic annual payment of fifteen soldi and a pound of wax (ASF, Diplomatico, Covi, September 11, 1251). For 101 lire in 1250 the Servites purchased four *staiora* of property in the Cafaggio (containing vineyards, fields, houses) from the bishop (ASF, Diplomatico, Santissima Annunziata, July 1, 1250). By late May of 1255 a church of the Servites was already in existence in the Cafaggio, according to a documented sale of episcopal land located near it (“posito prope ecclesiam fratrum de Cafadio quod terrenum sic decernitur,” ASF, Diplomatico, Santissima Annunziata, May 28, 1255). For several more years, the Servites bought land in the Cafaggio, including a *staioro* for forty Pisan lire from the bishop in the Cafaggio (Santissima Annunziata, February 18, 1255), five *staiora* and three *panora* (over half an acre) from a set of brothers (Santissima Annunziata, March 2, 1256), and another parcel (one hundred *pedes* by forty *pedes*) for one hundred lire (Santissima Annunziata, July 8, 1259). In 1256 Pope Alexander IV (1254–61) granted the Servites pastoral rights to hear confession and assign penance (Santissima Annunziata, June 17, 1256).

52. Benvenuti Papi, “Donne religiose nella Firenze del due-trecento,” reprinted in “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 593–634, esp. 619–23 (which discusses Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella). The essay originally appeared in *Le mouvement confraternel au moyen âge*, 41–82 (see 67–69 for details about Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella).

53. ASF, Diplomatico, Santissima Annunziata, May 28, 1255. Davidsohn noted that the sale was necessary to help the bishop repay a debt of 5,600 lire contracted to help the papacy pay for the war against Manfred (*Storia di Firenze*, 2: 629). The sale of land was for the construction of houses in the Cafaggio zone north of the city walls (“pro faciendis et construendis domibus in Cafadio Episcopatus”). For the topographical history of the Cafaggio in the thirteenth century and for a description of the 1255 sale, see Sznura, *L'espansione urbana di Firenze*, 54–70.

54. White, *Art and Architecture*, 27, 30; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 105–6; Fanelli, *Firenze*, 40–43; Fanelli, *Firenze*, 9; Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 1–4.

55. White, *Art and Architecture*, 27–30, 30–34, 52–54.

56. White, *Art and Architecture*, 241–43; Trachtenberg, “Founding the Palazzo Vecchio,” 968, and *Dominion of the Eye*, 90–151.

57. McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 98, 154. By 1380 the nave and the chancel were almost completed. The six chapels around the altar all dated from 1340 to 1368 (102).

58. Goffen, *Spirituality in Crisis*, 8.

59. Riccetti, “Il vescovo Francesco Monaldeschi,” 209–10; White, *Art and Architecture*, 52, 244; Toker, “Florence Cathedral,” 215–17, “On Holy Ground,” 552, and “Arnolfo di Cambio,” 228–29; Leoncini and Bicchi, “Il culto dei santi,” 304–5; Cherubini, “La Firenze di Santa Maria del Fiore,” 341. Toker argues that the original structure of Santa Reparata was built around 500, when military dangers forced the Florentines to locate their cathedral inside rather than outside the walls (San Lorenzo was the first cathedral of the city). See Toker, “Una visita di Sant’Ambrogio a Firenze,” 385–87; Morozzi, “La cattedrale di Santa Reparata,” 141. Information about Santa Reparata is based almost entirely on archaeological excavations completed between 1965 and 1974. There are few if any remaining documents from the early Middle Ages.

60. Trachtenberg, *The Campanile of Florence Cathedral*, 21, and “Scénographie urbaine,” 25; Cherubini, “La Firenze di Santa Maria del Fiore,” 28.

## Chapter 1

1. ASF, NA 2356, fols. 1–7; *Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*, 851.

2. For a comparison between the various rituals and procedures at Pisa, Lucca, and Florence, see

Wickham, *Legge, pratiche*, 396–99.

3. Direct communal control of the diocese came about gradually after 1250, as reviewed in my essay, “A World of Its Own.” For a comparative study on the influence of consular courts in the countryside of Florence (where it was lacking), Lucca, and Pisa (where that influence was strong, as at Lucca), see Wickham, *Legge, pratiche*.

4. To my knowledge, though working from a restricted case study on the Val d’Elsa for the period between 1280 and 1350, the first historian to notice this point is Charles de La Roncière (“Dans la campagne florentine,” 306–7). What he first saw with regard to his restricted case study I have seen was true of the the diocese as a whole.

5. According to Joseph Lynch, a provision is a “nomination or appointment to church office; in the fourteenth century the papacy gained the right of provision over thousands of church offices all over Europe” (*The Medieval Church*, 364). For a comprehensive history of the development of the system of papal provision, see Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, 184; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 547–49; Thomson, *The Western Church*, 159–60. Thomson stresses that papal provisions were a means to encourage church reform, but the examples provided in this case study suggest they were mainly political.

6. Davisohn, *Storia di Firenze*, vol. 1, chap. 8, and vol. 7, chap. 1, pp. 8–12, and *Firenze di tempi di Dante*, 7–8, 26.

7. ASF, Diplomatico Rinuccini, August 23, 1291.

8. Muir, “Community in Renaissance Italy,” 6. For anthropologically informed approaches to dispute resolution, see Wickham, *Legge, pratiche* (esp. the introduction); White, “Pactum,” 282–308; Byock, *Medieval Iceland*, x, 27–28; Davies et al, *The Settlement of Disputes*, 1–5, 206–40; Dameron, “Revisiting the Italian Magnates”; Gluckman, *Politics*; and Roberts, *Order and Dispute*.

9. ASF, NA 2357, fols. 1r–40r; ASF, Diplomatico, Rinuccini, February 25, 1321, March 5, 1321, June 20, 1330 and May 16, 1327; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:39–42, 4:845, 3:845–46, and 6:592; ASF, NA 2356, fols. 1v–12r; Villani XI.179, 2:745. In June of 1322, Pope John XXII had the Florentine *poderà*, Ubertino dei Salis, excommunicated for not having used his power to expel Presbyter Bene and install Frederico as archpriest of Impruneta (“qui non dedit seculare brachium et potentiam dicto domino Frederico ad intrandum in dictam plebem et expellendam presbyterum Benem et alios quos eandem plebem detinent occupatam”; ASF, NA 11484, fols. 132r–133v).

10. Swanson, *Church and Society*, 1–2; Brentano, *Two Churches*, 62–64. For a general overview of Italian dioceses, see Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d’Italia*. The dioceses of Tuscany were Arezzo, Chiusi, Florence, Grosseto, Fiesole, Lucca, Massa Marittima, Pisa, Pistoia, Siena, Sovana, and Volterra.

11. Ronzani, “L’Organizzazione della cura d’anime,” 48; also cited and quoted in full in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 95 and 95n (which also includes bibliographical references to the *cura animarum* in Italy); La Roncière, “Aspects de la religiosité populaire,” 343 (with useful notes). These duties were spelled out in the proceedings of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. For a meticulous investigation into the nature of pastoral care (*cura animarum*) in a Florentine urban parish, see Bowsky, “‘Populus Sancti Laurentii’: Cura d’anime, una parrocchia e un prete,” in *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 91–156.

12. ASF, NA 8745, fol. 78v. See also ASF, NA 1118, fol. 93v; NA 2359, fol. 147r; NA 8745, fol. 82v; NA 9497, fol. 70r.

13. For two early fourteenth-century constitutions (Fiesole and Florence), see Trexler, *Synodal Law*. “Ut evitetur iniuria que per iterationem sacramentis infertur, presenti denotamus oraculo dominici corporis, matrimonii, penitentie, et unctionis extreme sacramenta reiterari posse, modis, locis, et temporibus aptis. Ceteris autem, videlicet baptisate, quod omnium sacramentorum et ianua, ordine, et confirmatione crismatis, que per episcopos fit in fronte, absque iteratione manentibus” (Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 235; for burials, see 257–59).

14. See Bowsky, “‘Populus Sancti Laurentii,’” in *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 97ff.

15. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 236–40.

16. ASF, NA 3143, fol. 59r; Le Goff, “The Usurer and Purgatory,” 28. Since the Third Lateran Council (1179) open usurers faced excommunication and burial restrictions.

17. ASF, NA 18784, fol. 25r.

18. Oakley, *The Western Church*, 88; Fassler and Baltzer, *The Divine Office*, 3.

19. For a description of the responsibilities of priests in the spiritual life of their communities, see the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, published in Geary, *Readings in Medieval History*, 2:105–30. See also Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 30–34, 98–102, 107; Hamilton, *Religion in the Medieval West*, 53–56; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 112–16; Reynolds, “Divine Office,” 221–31; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 50; Fassler and Baltzer, *The Divine Office*, 3.

20. In the Lucchesia and Pisano in the twelfth century, by contrast, rural residents had recourse to

urban courts, which they tended to trust as effective and fair (Wickham, *Legge, pratiche*, 174–77, 280, 476–79).

21. La Roncière, “Dans la campagne,” 300, 306–7. For examples from elsewhere in the diocese that I have uncovered, see ASF, NA 2358, fols. 48v, 49r, 145r.

22. For examples, see ASF, NA 2356, fols. 50v, 62v, 65r, 66r–v, 90r–v, 106r, 103r; NA 2354, fol. 30r; NA 1713, fol. 18r; NA 3794, fol. 40v; NA 2358, fol. 143v. Presbyter Rodolfo of the parish of the *pieve* of Settimo was especially active witnessing and creating peace pacts (ASF, NA 12527, fols. 34v, 35r). In another example, Presbyter Buoninsegna, the rector of Santa Maria di Rostolena, was the witness of a peace pact between warring local factions (ASF, NA 3794, Buoninsegna di Rimberto, fol. 40v).

23. ASF, NA 12527, fols. 34v, 35r. A prosperous resident of the parish, a certain Rodolfo, designated Presbyter Rodolfo the executor of his testament (fol. 26v). For peace pacts engineered by Archpriest Bene of Impruneta, see ASF, NA 2356 (at Impruneta), fols. 50v, 51v, 62v, 65r, 66r, 103r, 106r.

24. ASF, NA 4619, fol. 1091.

25. ASF, NA 2320, fols. 1v, 3v, 4v; NA 2356, fol. 106r.

26. ASF, NA 1118, fol. 13v.

27. ASF, NA 2358, fol. 45r.

28. ASF, NA 4619, fol. 93r; NA 9569, fol. 9r.

29. For further details, see [Chapter 3](#).

30. ASF, NA 7870, fol. 13r–v.

31. ASF, NA 2359, fol. 23r; ASF, NA 2320, fols. 1v, 4v.

32. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, November 21, 1322.

33. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, July 16, 1330.

34. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, February 10, 1319. For another example, see ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, December 11, 1320. On April 7, 1303, Ranieri del fu Bellindotto (parish of San Lorenzo), designated the canon of San Lorenzo, Ranieri, as the intermediary for the restitution of ill-gotten gains. The testator did not remember to whom the money should be restored, so he wanted the canon to give it to the bishop for restitution (“tamquam executore ordinario huiusmodi restituendorum incertorum,” in ASF, NA 3140, fol. 101r).

35. I make the point about urban ruling elite’s reliance on ecclesiastical lords for control of the countryside in my book *Episcopal Power*, esp. chaps. 3 and 4.

36. ASF, NA 4619, fol. 93r. The identification of the secular priest as a facilitator of community identity is made in the several publications by La Roncière on the Val d’Elsa (see bibliography) and by Wickham on the Lucchesia in the twelfth century (*Community and Clientele*).

37. Some examples include the communities of Petrognano (ASF, NA 3782), Dicomano (ASF, NA 9494), and Linari (ASF, NA 11118).

38. La Roncière, “Dans la campagne,” “Condizioni economiche,” and “Aspects de la religiosité populaire.” Fundamental starting points for a study of the rural parish are Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes*, and *Pievi e parrocchie*. For Lucca and Rieti, see Osheim, *An Italian Lordship*, and Brentano, *A New World*. See also Wickham, *Community and Clientele*, 68–82.

39. For a description of major and minor holy orders and the ranks within them, see Lynch, *The Medieval Church*, 363–64. For references to Presbyter Lorenzo, see ASF, NA 2356, fols. 5 and 6.

40. Brentano, *Two Churches*, p. 68. The subordinate (or subaltern) parishes of a *piviere* are often called oratories. In the *Rationes decimarum*, they appear as churches (*ecclesiae*).

41. *Rationes decimarum*, 2:ix.

42. *Rationes decimarum*, 2:98, viii, ix.

43. ASF, NA 8745, fol. 78v; NA 1118, fol. 93v; NA 2359, fol. 147r; NA 8745, fol. 82v; NA 9497, fol. 70r.

44. Some examples of conflict-free appointments include elections at Carpineto near Impruneta in 1297 (ASF, NA 2354, fol. 8v), Semifonte in the Val di Pesa in 1327 (ASF, NA 3783, fol. 12r), and Impruneta in 1300 (ASF, NA 2355, fols. 4r, 2v, and 3r).

45. For a few examples, see ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, June 23, 1288; ASF, NA 2357, fols. 10–13; ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria del Bigallo, September 15, 1307.

46. A perusal of the records of the bishopric of Fiesole also provides abundant evidence that most elections took place without complication (AVF, Vescovato II.B.6, fol. 1 and following).

47. ASF, NA 950, fol. 177r.

48. ASF, NA 9497, fol. 70r.

49. ASF, Diplomatico, Rosano, June 22, 1261.



50. ASF, NA 20719, fol. 56r.

51. ASF, NA 8743, fol. 81v.

52. ASF, NA 2359, fols. 122v, 147r; ASF, NA 2354, fol. 101r.

53. ASF, NA 2359, fols. 122v, 124r. See also fol. 147r for another peace pact (*laudum*).

54. ASF, NA 2355, fols. 18r, 19r.

55. ASF, NA 2356, fol. 66.

56. ASF, NA 2359, fols. 146v, 147r.

57. Villani, *Crónica*, XI.194 (1823 ed.), 185; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:107. In contrast, in Padua in 1308, a city of 30,000, there were twenty-eight urban parishes (Rigon, *Clero e città*, 92; Kohl, *Padua*, 20–22). Siena had thirty-six urban parishes (Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune*, 43).

58. For the early fifteenth century, David Peterson listed twelve collegiate churches and priories in the city, and Gene Brucker ten. My number of fifteen includes all collegiate churches in the entire *piviere* of San Giovanni, not just those within the city walls and not just the priories. The numbers of parishes in the city are 83 (Peterson), 62 (Brucker), and 71 (myself). For the *contado* alone, Peterson counted 614 parishes, 60 *pievi*, and 25 collegiate churches. I counted 513 noncollegiate parishes, 59 *pievi*, and 27 collegiate churches. The different numbers result from diverse methodologies and the difference of a century. For Peterson's and Brucker's numbers, see Peterson, "An Experiment," 198–99; and Brucker, "Urban Parishes," 17–21.

59. For example, see the list of churches under papal protection in ASF, Diplomatico, Rinuccini, August 23, 1291. The papacy protected its rights to tithes, burial fees, offerings, testamentary income, and vestments. Papal protection prevented any interference by bishops or other ecclesiastical officials (such as abbots) in the affairs of the institutions under that jurisdictional umbrella.

60. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 308, 401; Toker, "On Holy Ground," 554.

61. Monciatti, "Le baptistère de Florence." The mosaics date from the second half of the thirteenth century, executed by a number of artists, including Coppo di Marcovaldo (11). Maureen Miller kindly brought to my attention that the bronze doors of Andrea Pisano, now at the south entry of the Baptistery, were originally on the east end until the early fifteenth century (where we find Lorenzo Ghiberti's "Gates of Paradise"). See Paolucci, *Il Battistero di San Giovanni a Firenze*, 48–49.

62. "L'un de li quali, ancor non è molt'anni, / rupp'io per un che dentro v'annegava" (Dante, *Inferno*, canto 19, lines 19–20, trans. Pinsky, pp. 190–91).

63. Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes*, 119, 135, 146–47; Brentano, *Two Churches*, 68–69.

64. La Roncière, *Religion paysanne*, II.49. I have included in this count only those convents within the diocese. Also in the environs of Florence but not within the diocese were Carmignano (diocese of Pistoia), Ganghereto, Colle Val d'Elsa, and San Gimignano (II.49).

65. ASF, Diplomatico, Rosano, December 19, 1301. For Buonsollazzo, see ASF, Cestello, October 10, 1320. Among the problems the bishop cited were damages to the temporal and spiritual fabric ("circa spiritualia et temporalia detrimentum invenimus"), lack of regular observances, and the corruption of the monks and abbots.

66. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano, 179, 36, (Protocollo 1322–7), fol. 5v.

67. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano, 179, 36, (Protocollo 1277–1289), fol. 22v.

68. ASF, NA 9495, fol. 40. San Godenzo had the right to elect the rector of San Niccolò di Casale, diocese of Fiesole (fol. 44).

69. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano, 179, 36 (Protocollo 1277–89), fol. 27r. *Domini* could refer to a variety of churchmen living in the community, including canons, abbots, or archpriests.

70. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano, 179, 34 (Protocollo 1268–88), fol. 115v.

71. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano, 179, 37, fols. 1r, 29r; 179, 38, Protocollo 1316–38, fol. 6v.

72. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano, 179, 48, Protocollo 1299–1308, unfoliated, fols. 1–20, 84–90, 95 (95v source of quote); ASF, Diplomatico, Ripoli, November 5, 1317, Passignano, February 6, 1318; Passignano, December 10, 1320; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:34–39. The statute allowed seven servants (*familiare*s) of the abbot of Vallombrosa to bear arms (*Statuti della repubblica*, 2:441–42).

73. Villani, *Crónica* XI.194 (1823 ed.), 185; Trexler relied on Villani's number of 24 for 1336 ("Celibacy in the Renaissance," 345). I will publish a list of these communities separately.

74. Benvenuti Papi, "In castro poenitentiae," 7; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 106. For an overview of Florentine mendicants, see Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 4:400–411.

75. Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 1–4; Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, 60.

76. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Croce, November 4, 1296, February 27, 1297, and April 12, 1297; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:597–600, 7:95–96; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 114–15; Benvenuti Papi, "In



castro poenitentiae,” 45. In early 1298 forty-nine members of the order were present in the episcopal palace to handle some business on behalf of the poor (“de quadam negotia ipsorum fratrum et pauperum tractanda gerenda et facienda”) (ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Croce, February 17, 1297).

77. ASF, Diplomatico, Carmine, November 26, 1309; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 93–94; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:79–80. The Carmelite order began in Palestine and arrived in Europe in the early thirteenth century. They were in Pisa before 1249 and Siena by 1256. Agnese’s initial bequest included 150 lire and six *staiora* of land in the Oltrarno (McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 89–90, 94–95, 135–36, 147). Like the Augustinian Friars Hermits, they combined their eremitical origins with the values of the mendicants (Lawrence, *The Friars*, 93–95, 105). For the foundation of the Carmelites in 1268, see ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria del Carmine, June 30, 1268.

78. Benvenuti Papi, “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 7–43; McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*; Benassi, *Diamante a Sette Facce*; Casalini, “I luoghi della devozione Mariana” (with extensive bibliography). For the sale of property to the Servites in 1256, see ASF, Diplomatico, Santissima Annunziata, March 2, 1256. In June the pope gave them permission to hear confessions and grant absolution (June 17, 1256).

79. Benvenuti Papi, “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 4–5; Trexler, “Honor Among Thieves,” 21–26; Spilner, “*Ut Civitas Amplietur*,” 154–6.

80. Lesnick, *Preaching*, 45.

81. Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty*, 108.

82. Benvenuti Papi, “Donne religiose,” 67–69, and “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 15–16, 583–87; ASF, NA 950, fol. 153r. A house (*domus*) associated with this community is documented from the 1270s, and there seems to have been some rudimentary organization by the end of the thirteenth. In the first two decades of the fourteenth century, there were several groups of *pinzochere*.

83. Mulchahey, “*First the Bow Is Bent in Study*,” 34–35, 183–84, 323–62, 385–89, 433; Lesnick, *Preaching*, 85, based on Malispini; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:214–34; and Villani VIII.55, 1:498–501; Davis, “Education in Dante’s Florence,” in *Dante’s Italy and Other Essays*, 146–65; Burr, *Olivi’s Peaceable Kingdom*, 67, 122–25. For a recent set of essays on Santa Maria Novella, see Verdon, ed., *Alla riscoperta delle chiese di Firenze*, vol. 2, *Santa Maria Novella*. For the meal shared by Cardinal Latino and the canons, see ACF, Carte Stroziane, 451.

84. ASF, NA 448, fol. 29v–30r; Dameron, “The Cult of Saint Minias.” The charters associated with the foundation and endowment of this monastery are reproduced in Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, fols. 45–50.

85. Villani estimated the number of nunneries within the city at twentyfour (XI. 94, [1823 ed.], 185). For 1427 Trexler records that there were twenty-two, and in 1551 fifty nunneries (*Public Life*, 33). Some of the most important studies of female religious institutions in the city are Davidsohn (*Forschungen*, 4:411–22), Trexler (“Celibacy in the Renaissance”), and Benvenuti Papi (“Donne religiose”). For the issues associated with urbanization and regulation, see Benvenuti Papi, “Donne religiose,” 46, 50.

86. Trexler, “Celibacy in the Renaissance,” in *Dependence*, 344–351; Benvenuti Papi, “Donne religiose,” 43–45, 53, 58, 61, 72; and *In castro poenitentiae*, 583, 601–22; ASF, Diplomatico, San Pier Maggiore, September 20, 1313; ASF, Diplomatico, Monticelli, April 24, 1297 and January 10, 1314; Cestello, July 28, 1319, and Sant’ Apollinare, July 1, 1324.

87. ASF, Diplomatico, Riformagioni, December 6, 1301, San Pier Maggiore, February 24, 1301; AAF, MAB 03, fol. 10r–v; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:33; vol. 4, 22–23. As quoted by Davidsohn, Margarita was accused of saying: “dominus Bonifacius non erat papa, sed potius diabolus” (4:22–23).

88. ASF, NA 15688, fol. 63r.

89. The historiography on both confraternities and hospitals is vast and extensive (see Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, for a comprehensive list until 1994). For individual institutions, see Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 4:389–401, 426–40; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*. For immigration, see Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 247, 255; Nenci, “Ricerche sull’immigrazione.”

90. Henderson, “The Hospitals of Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence,” 63; see also Epstein, *Genoa*, 117–20.

91. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 2, 34–36.

92. La Roncière, “Dans la campagne,” 353.

93. That charity was a prime contributor to social stability is a principal theme in Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, esp. 273–79; Epstein, *Genoa*, 185–87. Potential social instability was even more acute in Florence.

94. For the count of La Roncière, see “Dans la campagne,” 285. For confraternities and hospitals, see La Roncière, “Les confréries en Toscane”; Henderson, “The Hospitals of Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence,” and “‘Splendide case di cura,’” 202. Rural confraternities for which I have found documentation are the following: Societas Santae Andreae de Nizzano (Impruneta) (ASF, NA 2355, fol. 24v), Societas beate Marie de Novole (Santa Maria di Novole, *plebatus* Rignano) (NA 2358

109 r–v); Societas beate Marie Virginis ecclesie plebis Septimi (NA 12527, fol. 8v); Societas beate Marie de Carraia (ASF, Diplomatico, Acquisto regio, September 4, 1295); Societas beate Marie populi plebis Sancti Donnino (Brozzi) (ASF, NA 950, fol. 91r); Societas beate Marie populi plebis Septimi (NA 3058, fol. 23r); Societas beate Marie Sancti Martini de Vespignano (NA 8046, fol. 47); Societas hominum et personarum plebis prefate Beate Marie (Impruneta) (NA 2356, fol. 86v); Societas (et congregatio) Sancte Marie de Antella (NA 1252, fols. 20r, 42v); Societas plebis Sancti Appiani (NA 3782, fol. 56r); Societas Sancte Marie de Rincine (NA 9499, fol. 79v); Societas Sancte Marie de Albagnano (Petrognano) (NA 17577, fol. 2r); Societas beate Marie Virginis sancte Martini de Gangalando (NA 12527, fol. 45v); Societas Sancti Petri de Montebuone (NA 2358, fol. 101v).

95. ASF, NA 8046, fol. 47, NA 15797, fols. 96v–97r; NA 15798, fol. 15r, respectively.

96. The number is based on the list of confraternities in Florence in Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 444–74.

97. Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 197–203; Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 294. Bowsky has painstakingly recreated the documentary history of the San Lorenzo clerical confraternity in his essay “La confraternita dei preti e San Lorenzo a Firenze: Una chiesa, una parrocchia e una fraternité di chierici,” in *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 197–245.

98. Bowsky, “Populus Sancti Laurentii,” in *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 154, 177; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 39; Peterson, “Conciliarism,” 201. The largest increase in the number of confraternities, however, occurred between 1350 and 1500 (118). For a complete listing of Florentine confraternities and their foundations, see *Piety and Charity*, 39–40, 443–74. For indulgences issued to confraternities by bishops, usually at the request of the former, see ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, February 20, 1287, and Santo Stefano di Empoli, June 28, 1296; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 88.

99. For descriptions of the types of confraternities, see Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 34–37.

100. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 36–45, 72, 84–91, 120–22, 176–78. The flagellant companies founded between 1300 and 1349 were dedicated to San Giovanni Battista, San Niccolò di Bari, Gesù, Gesù Pellegrino, and San Bartolomeo (120).

101. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, April 15, 1285; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 76–77, 469–70.

102. ASF, Conventi soppressi, San Pier Martire, 1312–40, 1313–34; ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, March 30, 1329.

103. Henderson, “‘Splendide case di cura,’” 20–23, 35, 38–39; Fanelli, *Firenze (atlante)*, 29; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 8:222–23, and 7:87–104.

104. Henderson, “The Hospitals,” 64–69; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 1:267, 7:67–104; ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, June 23, 1288; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 4:389–401.

105. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:102–4; Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 197–205; Henderson, “‘Splendide case di cura,’” 25; Peterson, “Conciliarism,” 201; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 4:399. In the notarial protocol of Lando di Ubaldino (ASF, NA 11388), there are numerous early fourteenth-century references associated with the hospital of the clergy: leases (fols. 3r, 127r, 198r), an election of a *hospitalarius* (99r), and donations to hospital (101v). For an example of a donation to the hospital of the confraternity, see ASF, NA 9569, fol. 90r. The rector of San Romolo di Colonata, Presbyter Cacca del fu Grazia da Sommaia, left four gold florins to the hospital for his soul.

106. For information on hospitals, an important reference is still Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 2:630ff., 3:383ff., 673ff., 7:87–104. See also Henderson, “The Hospitals”; Bowsky, *La Chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 200–205; Villani XI.946 (1823 ed.), 185.

107. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:95.

108. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, June 23, 1288. In 1308 the patrons chose a new rector of the hospital (Santa Maria Nuova, December 3, 1308). To understand how the patrons elected lay administrators (*conversi*) to look after the poor, see Santa Maria Nuova, October 24, 1324. For the plans and the scope of the original hospital, see Henderson, “‘Splendide case di cura,’” 28–30, 37. The first corridor (1313–15) was for men, and the second corridor was completed in 1334.

109. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, June 23, 1288; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:89–91.

110. For a comprehensive overview of San Lorenzo, accompanied by extensive transcriptions of primary sources and bibliographies, see Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*. For urban expansion during this period, see Sznura, *L'espansione urbana*; and Spilner, “Ut Civitas Amplietur.”

111. ASL 559.

112. ASL 675, also cited and transcribed by Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 161n.

113. ASL 624; 654; Bowsky, “Populus Sancti Laurentii,” in *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 154, 177–78; “La confraternité dei preti,” republished in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 197–245.

114. Lami, *Monumenta*, 1:937; ASL 745, 746; Cianfogini, *Memorie storiche*, 120–21.

115. *Rationes Decimarum*, 1:3–6 and 2:6–7.
116. Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 123–26. The essay “Chiostro con vista,” has a helpful bibliography and describes the relation of the church to San Benedetto in Alpe.
117. In 1250 there were five canons at San Lorenzo (ASL 571); in 1263, six (ASL 568). The constitution of 1287 provided for eight canons and a prior (Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 123).
118. For 1250, see ASL 571 (canons Chianni, Ranieri, Recupero, Recupero, and Prior Fede). For the number and names of canons in 1276–77, see *Rationes decimarum*, 1:13. In 1297 nine canons were present at the probation of the will of Durante di Fendo dei Anchioni (ASL 777, cited by Bowsky, *La Chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 24–25, for having endowed a prebend); Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:11. In 1302 there were ten canons mentioned (ASL 733; *Rationes decimarum*, 2:7). The number was nine in 1322 (ASL 714). Inserted in the 1369 constitution was a document from the end of the thirteenth century stipulating that the number was limited to ten—nine canons and the prior (Cianfogno, *Memorie*, 126).
119. ASL 559. In 1263 Bellondo and Ildebrandino were called treasurers (*camerarii dicte ecclesie*) (ASL 568, 634, also cited (*La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 181). In 1306 there were two *camerlinghi* who reported income figures to the chapter (ASL 1915, Entrata e Uscita di San Lorenzo).
120. ASL 269, 774 (also cited and partially transcribed in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 75–77), ASL 680; Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 7, 75–79. In 1326, Ser Dionigio di Bindo da Calenzano, perhaps the son of the episcopal notary Ser Bindo da Calenzano, served as syndic and procurator of the prior and chapter of San Lorenzo. He conferred a chaplaincy in San Lorenzo on a Florentine cleric (ASL 680).
121. ASL 545, 529, 492, 550. Presbyter Dato was living in San Lorenzo at least as early as 1253 (ASL 624; cited and published in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 172). Other clergy associated with the chapter but who were not canons in 1278 were Signorino (*clericus*) and Presbyter Restoro (chaplain) (ASL 529; Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 65n, 71n). Manno (a chaplain) was there in 1283 (ASL 492). In 1295 Buonsignore and Niccolò served as chaplain and cleric (*clericus*, probably in minor orders), respectively (ASL 735).
122. ASL 718.
123. ASL 679.
124. Bowsky has recreated these events in “Chiostro con vista,” in *La Chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 157–96. The testimony regarding the assaults within the cloister in 1258 and 1260 are in ASL 675, cited in Bowsky, *La Chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 160–63.
125. ASL 634, 582; Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 20.
126. Cianfogno, *Memorie storiche*, 118; ASL 571, 279, 656; Lami, *Monumenta*, 3:1795. Innocent IV wrote to Giovanni, a canon of Empoli, to provide a prebend for Ildebrandino degli Adimari in San Lorenzo. His sponsor in the papal curia had been the bishop of Alba Longa (“de quo nobis laudabile testimonium perhibetur”) (Lami, 3:1793). Ruggero dei Frescobaldi had before 1263 also served as chaplain (*capellano*) to Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Via Lata (Bowsky, with relevant citations, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 167).
127. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:11; Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 167–82.
128. For example, the syndic of the chapter of San Lorenzo cited Spinello di Ranieri for not having paid tithes and rent for five years (ASL 790). In 1303 Florentine officials sequestered the property of Feduccio di Bencivenni for having failed to pay San Lorenzo 150 lire in rent over five years (ASL 727).
129. ASL 749. In 1302 the chapter and Bartolo dei Cantucci were in conflict over property lines, involving a wall. The city surveyors ruled in favor of San Lorenzo.
130. Six friars of San Giovanni Battista, including the prior, were present at the settlement of the dispute. They decided that the northern Europeans (“Francigene et alii ultramontani”) were in the future to be buried at San Lorenzo (“debent de iure communi apud ipsam ecclesiam Sancti Laurentii sepelliri”). Aside from promising not to hear confessions without license from the canons of San Lorenzo, the friars agreed to pay half of all income associated with testamentary legacies and burials (“dare et solvere medietatem omnium proventus et oblationum que ad eos et dictam eorum ecclesiam pervenerint in futuro occasione sepulture vel testamenti”) (ASL 545, document also cited with notes in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 265). For a fuller account than what is presented here, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:105; Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 262–67.
131. ASL 707.
132. Bowsky, *Piety and Property*, 4, and *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 64–82.
133. For a more complete overview of the history of the cathedral chapter during this period, see my “Società e devozione nella Firenze medievale.” Among the rich sources for a history of the cathedral chapter is the beautifully bound and preserved leasebook, the *Libro Rosso*. The protocols of this notary

(Mazzingho di Poni da Monterrapoli), are in the state archive (ASF, NA 8743–46).

134. Chittolini, “I beni terrieri,” 253; Brentano, *A New World*, 184; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:9 and 18. In 1333 Bishop Ildebrandino Conti da Valmontone (1319–52) of Padua reformed the cathedral chapter statutes for the city of 30,000, reducing the number of canons to twenty (Kohl, *Padua*, 7–8, 20–23). I am thankful to Maureen Miller for first having brought to my attention the low number of prebends in Florence relative to cathedral chapters in other cities.

135. *Rationes decimarum*, 2:5–6; ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 289; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:18. Davidsohn asserted there were fourteen canons but the parchment copy of the 1310 constitution in the chapter archive (ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 289) mentioned thirteen (twelve, plus the *preposto*).

136. ASF, NA 8743, fol. 12; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:8–9. In 1324 the canons elected a new chaplain to replace the deceased Presbyter Albonetto (ASF, NA 8743, fol. 115r).

137. In 1280 the archpresbyter Tribaldo was also the *camerarius* (ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 635).

138. ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 14, 72, 79.

139. ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 308, 401 (I have not seen this parchment).

140. ASF, NA 8046, fols. 33r–40r, and 2356, fols. 10v, 26r.

141. ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 996, 401; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:7–8, and 475–76.

142. ASF, NA 8743, fol. 115r. Guido served as a sort of administrative assistant (*familiaris*) to the chapter before his appointment. For the appointment, the canons gathered in the sacristy of the cathedral.

143. For the history of the development of the estate of the Florentine chapter, see Dameron, “Patrimony and Clientage.”

144. ASF, NA 8743, fol. 12.

145. ASF, Diplomatico, Baldovinetti, May 28, 1286; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:398–99. For information on papal control of episcopal elections, see Ronzani, “Vescovi, capitoli,” 102–3; Sergi, “Vescovi, monasteri, aristocrazia militare,” 93; Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, 184. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) charged the local cathedral chapter “to act as the only electoral college.” Theoretically, the canons were to come to a unanimous decision, but if not, a wiser majority (*maior et sanior*) was supposed to prevail. However, the papal curia became increasingly involved after 1250 in local elections that were disputed or in elections of successors of bishops who had died in Rome.

146. For the charge (*procura*) for the 1286 election from the papacy, see ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 101. For the papal election of Friar Jacopo da Perugia in May of 1286, see ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 1017, 1037.

147. The papal approval is dated January 1, 1287 (ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 1037). In 1295 the papacy transferred him to Vicenza. This is the same Andrea Mozzi whom Dante sent to hell to be punished among the sodomites.

148. In 1292 the bishop and the cathedral chapter settled their differences over Sant’Andrea: “Et omnes possessiones et ius confirmandi rectorem in dicta ecclesia quam vel quod dictum capitulum vel canonica Florentina hactenus habuerunt et obtinuerunt libere et quiete dimisit et permisit eisdem” (ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 171). See also ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 859; Sanesi, “Un ricorso del capitolo fiorentino all signoria,” esp. 3–17; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:600–606; Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 6–8.

149. See ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 72, 234, 254; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:603–604; 7:90–91.

150. ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 600, 611, 258.

151. ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 159, 859. Machiavelli was a lawyer and already a member of the Florentine priorate.

152. ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 79, 100, 159; Palandri, “Il vescovo Andrea dei Mozzi”; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:603–6, 610–11, and 4:75–76.

153. See ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 234. Davidsohn was mistaken to claim that the suppression of the office occurred in 1331. The correct date was 1337 (ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 254).

154. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, June 23, 1311; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:545–48; McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 287.

155. For selected examples of episcopal leases contracted in San Salvatore, see AAF MAB 04, fols. 3r–4r, lor, 14r. Some leases, like that in 1307 of the notary Ser Giovanni Bonaventura for one *staioro* of land in the Cafaggio at twenty soldi per year for six years (19r), were contracted in the episcopal palace (see MAB 04, fols. 1371, 1381, and 138v, for other examples of such leases, contracted in the cloister—in *claustrum*—of the palace). Bishop Antonio degli Orsi often resided in his residence at Montughi, and some leases were contracted there in the chapel (*cappella*) of that palace (MAB 04, fol. 119v). He also spent time in the houses of the heirs of Perotto Guadagni (MAB 04, fol. 113v). In 1323 the Visdomini “guardians” of the bishopric, standing in for a bishop, celebrated the feast of Saint Vincent in the chapel of the episcopal palace in Florence (MAB 04, fol. 141v). The bishop’s granary was located on the

Piazza San Giovanni (MAB 04, fol. 142r), where many grain rents were paid (fol. 48r). For information about Bishop Antonio degli Orsi's various residences at Montughi (northwest of the city), at San Miniato al Monte, and in the rented house of the Guadagni near the Porta di Balla on the Via dei Servi at the second circle of walls, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:509; 7:19.

156. "Controversia, quae inter te et cives Florentinos suborta fuerat, nostra provisione sopita, quia vidimus, quod ex cohabitatione Fesulani Episcopi, maior inter eum et Commune Florentinum poterat concordia provenire et maior Episcopatus Fesulani securitas, et utilitas procurari, Ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae de Campo cum pertinentiis suis tibi providimus conferendam" (Lami, *Monumenta*, 2:991; see also Raspini, *Gli archivi parrocchiali*, xl).

157. In 1291 Pope Nicholas IV reaffirmed the exemptions of the churches in the *pieve* of Impruneta (ASF, Diplomatico, Rinuccini, August 23, 1291). For a complete listing of the churches in the *piviere* of Impruneta, see Herlihy, "Santa Maria Impruneta," 242. The initial concession of papal protection was in 1156 (ASF, Diplomatico, Rinuccini, November 30, 1156).

158. ASF, Diplomatico, Pinelli, January 31, 1298.

159. Riccetti, "Il vescovo Francesco Monaldeschi," 210–12; Cherubini, "La Firenze di Santa Maria del Fiore," 32.

160. There are several examples, including the induction of two men into minor orders in 1323 by the episcopal vicar (ASF, NA 3181, fol. 14v). See also ASF, NA 2289, fol. 2r.

161. In 1288, the vicar, Lambertuccio, gave permission for the Divine Office to be recited in the new hospital of Santa Maria Nuova (ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, June 23, 1288).

162. ASF, Diplomatico, Mercatanti, September 11, 1320. This example is the testament of Foresina, a widow in San Pier Maggiore.

163. In 1299 a local lord had apparently destroyed a church to make room for a palace (ASF, NA 2354, fol. 32v).

164. In 1315, for example, Bishop Antonio degli Orso ordained a cleric (AAF, MAB 03, fol. 53r).

165. ASF, NA 8745, fols. 40v–41r, and 6181 fol. 58r; ASF, Diplomatico, Archivio Generale, December 10, 1319, and Cestello, October 10, 1319.

166. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, May 30, 1297; Ripoli, November 5, 1317; Passignano, February 6, 1318.

167. ASF, Diplomatico San Matteo in Arcetri, August 25, 1317. For background on bishops' roles, see Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 527–35; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion* 30–1, 46–7; Lynch, *The Medieval Church*, 359; ASF, Diplomatico, Mercatanti, September 11, 1320. Pope Honorius III (1216–27) observed that bishops were responsible for the well-being of their church, which included "canonical obedience, subjection and reverence, institution and deprivation, correction and reformation, and ecclesiastical censure; also jurisdiction over all cases lawfully pertaining to the ecclesiastical forum, penances and ... also annual visitation" (quoted in Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 531, citing Gregory IX, *Decretals*, I.31.16 [193]).

168. Nelson, "The Usurer and the Merchant Prince," 104–17; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 208–9; Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 3–23; 106–8. For the testamentary legacies and confessions to bishops regarding usury or distributions of *certa* or *incerta*, see AAF, MAB 03, fols. 11r, 18r, 18v; ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, February 17, 1289, and November 23, 1318. In May of 1301 the vicar general of the bishopric, Fra Andrea da Perugia, received one hundred lire for distribution to the poor and pious places ("pauperibus et piis locis pro anima sua," MAB 03, fol. 18v).

169. Trexler, "The Bishop's Portion," 397, *Synodal Law*, 14–16, and "Death and Testament," 48–62.

170. For information about the management of the episcopal estate by the *consorteria* of three families, see Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, 16–18, 64–65, 90, 171–73; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:19–21. For the homicide investigation, see ASF, NA 2357, fol. 26r. The full name of the accused was Lorenzo (born Bandino) di Venuti, from the parish of San Cristoforo a Strada (Impruneta). He was a canon of Impruneta and rector of San Lorenzo a Castrobonizzi (27v). On February 9, 1322, it appears that the canons were appointing a vicar general to govern both the spiritual and temporal resources of the *piviere* (ASF, NA 2357, fols. 1–3). The confirmation of Bene di Nero occurred on February 10 (fols. 2, 3r). For the episode with the abbeys, see ASF, Diplomatico, San Pier Maggiore, June 10, 1323.

171. ASF, Diplomatico, Stroziane Uguccone, 1276, May 29, 1277, December 11, 1279, and July 30, 1286, and Acquisto Regio, September 4, 1295.

172. For information on the activities of the syndics, procurators, and vicars, see AAF, MAB 04. For example, in 1307 we see that Parigio, the archpriest of Vaglia, served as episcopal vicar, procurator, and syndic, responsible for contracting numerous leases with episcopal tenants (fols. 1–2r, 19r). Ser Bindo da Calenzano, as syndic and procurator, did the same (fol. 15v). We have names for many of those who served as vicars of the two bishops. For Florence, there were Accursius (ASF 675), Lambertuccio (ASF,



Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, June 23, 1288); Andrea da Fabbiano (ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Croce, February 17, 1297); Egidio, rector of San Leonardo di Menania (ASL 688); Stefano de Broy of the cathedral chapter (ASF, Diplomatico, Rosano, December 19, 1301); Giovanni, treasurer of the cathedral chapter (ASF, NA 2289, fol. 19r); Parigio (ASF, NA 8743, fol. 28r); Enrico di Sant'Elpidio (ASF, NA 8743, fol. 113v); Benigno, rector of San Benedetto di Cingulo (ASF, NA 3783, fol. 130r); Barone, prior of Castiglione (ASF, NA 8743, fol. 12r-v).

173. For references, see AAF, MAB 02 and 03. Another episcopal notary was Ser Lapo Gianni dei Ricevuti (AAF, MAB 03, fol. 11v). For Francesco da Barberino, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:397–98; Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*, 228.

174. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Croce, February 9, February 27, April 12, 1297; and Santa Maria Nuova, June 6, 1329.

175. For a late thirteenth-century listing of these localities, see ASF, Diplomatico, Stroziane-Uguccioni, 1276.

176. Their control of Campoli became hotly contested in the early fourteenth century by the papal protégé Stefano de Broy. For the appointment of Talano della Tosa as archpriest of Campoli in 1299, see AAF, MAB 03, fol. 1.

177. ASF, NA 2289, fol. 26r.

178. ASF, NA 2289, fol. 24r.

179. For a general description of episcopal courts and their jurisdiction, see Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, 72, 139–40. For judgments, see ASF, Diplomatico, Riformagioni, September 4, 1314. The surviving documents regarding marriages are ASF, NA 8745, fol. 40v–41r and ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, October 10, 1319. There is a discussion in Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 5:630 (Davidsohn cites the document as December 10, 1319, instead of October 10, according to my notes). For appointments of procurators to appear before the bishop's court, see ASF, NA 11484, fols. 1–10. For a description of the episcopal courts of Florence and Fiesole, which, unfortunately, says very little about actual cases, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 5:627–32. For all the cases for which I have found documentation, in chronological order, see the following: ASL 623 (conflict over prebend in San Lorenzo), and 675 (Bellondo versus Ranieri di Aliotto); ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, June 28, 1266 (rectorship of San Martino la Palma); ASL 545 (burial fees), 774 (dispute over property); ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Croce, November 9, 1288 (usury); NA 5471, *bustina* 13 (cathedral chapter); Diplomatico, Santa Croce, September 26, 1313 (friars of penitence); NA 41111, fol. 135r (office of *hospitalarius*); NA 2354, fol. 32v (destruction of church property); NA 2355, fol. 19r (burial fees); Diplomatico, San Pier Maggiore, February 24, 1301, and Riformagioni, December 6, 1301 (protest over Tosinghi presence at ceremonial meal at San Pier Maggiore); Diplomatico, Mercatanti, May 7, 1302 (excommunication); Diplomatico, Peruzzi, March 28–30, August 31, 1314 (ecclesiastical patronage rights); ASF, Conventi soppressi, 179, 48, Protocollo 1299–1208, fols. 87r–89v (election of abbot of Vallombrosa); ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, December 10, 1319 (adultery; also discussed in Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 5:627–28); ASF, NA 8743, fols. 12 (church office at Signa) and 101v (office in hospital); Diplomatico, Rinuccini, January 7, 1323 (church office at Impruneta); ASF, NA 8743, fol. 113v (hospital property); ASF, NA 8744, fol. 85r (tithes); NA 8745, fol. 1r (taxation); fols. 83v–84r (church property); fols. 40v–41r (marriage); ASF 707 (pastoral rights); ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria del Carmine 132 ... (pastoral rights); ASF, Diplomatico, Riformagioni, September 4, 1314 (usury).

180. For the detention of Chele at Monterotondo, see ASF, NA 41111, fol. 135r; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:603–4, and 7:90–91. The chapter later investigated Chele for allegedly having alienated property (*podera*) of the hospital in the parish of the abbey of Fiesole (ASF, NA 20719, fol. 6v).

181. For documented cases before the episcopal court mentioned above, see ASF, NA 3541, Buonaccorso, fol. 65; 41111, fol. 1351; and 2355, fol. 194; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:603–4, and 7:90–91; ASL 545, 707 and 774; ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 48, Protocollo 1299–1308, unfoliated, fols. 1, 14, 20–21, 89–90, 87–89, 95; ASF, Diplomatico, Carmine 132 ... (Judgment of Accursius).

182. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, 120–121; see also Peterson, “Conciliarism,” 201–2.

183. Adami, “Le costituzioni del capitolo,” 227–33.

184. For the short 1305 text, see Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 6–8. For the 1310 constitution, see 225–89. For the 1327 constitution, see *I Capitoli del comune di Firenze*, vol. 2 (the original text is in ASF, *Capitoli* XI). Davidsohn describes the constitutions in *Storia di Firenze*, 7:18–19, 21–24.

185. For the history of the development of the canon law on ecclesiastical patronage rights, the basic text is Landau, *Ius Patronatus*. For ecclesiastical patronage rights in the diocese of Florence, see Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, 39, 57, 59, 81, 82, 111, 151, 164; Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates*, 68–69, 71–78, 79–80.

186. Ronzani, “Un aspetto,” 151, 192. Comparison with Ronzani’s figures from Pisa in 1400, however, is difficult because the Florentine figures date from an earlier period and include urban and rural patronage. The Florentine bishops were patrons of the following urban communities: Santa Felicità, San Salvatore (in the episcopal palace), San Rofillo, Ognissanti, the archdeaconry of the cathedral chapter, and the suburban monastery of San Miniato al Monte (see Appendix D).

187. ASF, NA 8745, fol. 2v; Ronzani, “Un aspetto,” 158, 176.

188. ASF, NA 8743, fol. 12r–v; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:42.

189. ASF *Conventi soppressi*, Passignano 179, 47, Fascio, 1327–1328, fols. 1–50; ASF, NA 8743, fol. 115r, and 2356, fols. 1–10.

190. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 77–88, 119; Hunt, *The Medieval Super-Companies*, 61; Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, 210–12; Bowsky, *Henry VII in Italy*, 3–9, 211. For papal appointments to church positions, see Appendix C.

191. For detailed descriptions of the procedures of the papal courts, see Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, 190–92; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, 120–43. Regarding legal cases, for an overview of the development of papal legates, which was generally a thirteenth-century phenomenon, see Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 49–50, and Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 218. For descriptions of their missions, see Villani VIII. 56, 1:498, IX. 40, 2:66–67, IX.69, 2:126–27, and X.353, 2:517–18; and Riccetti, “Il vescovo Francesco Monaldeschi,” 225. Napoleone degli Orsini alone had over one hundred benefices (Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, 205). For more background on him and his connections with the Spirituals, see Angelo Clareno, *Epistole*, lxxv–lxxvii; ASF, Diplomatico, Mercatanti, June 6, 1306; Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 100, 112, 193, 262, 268.

192. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, 120–143. For documented cases from Florence that went to the papal court, see ASL 269, 296, 299, 583, and 635; AAF, MAB 02, fol. 19r, and 04, fol. 143v; ASF, NA 2354, fols. 81v–82r, 2357, fol. 55r; 4111, fol. 86v, 8743, fols. 113v–115v, and 9495, fols. 40–42; Diplomatico Certosa, August 10, 1299; Cestello, September 23, 1295; Mercatanti, March 30 and May 30, 1315; Rinuccini, March 5, 1321, May 16, 1327, June 12 and 20, 1330; Santa Maria Nuova, November 13, 1328 and June 6, 1329; and Riformagioni 1290; and Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 38, and 179, 47, Fascio 1327/28, fol. 46v; Protocollo di Ser Domenico Giannuzzi, 1316–24, fols. 6v–7v.

193. Villani XL54, 2:581, and XII.179, 2:745; ASF, Diplomatico, Rinuccini, March 5, 1321, and May 16, 1327; *Le carte del monastero di Santa Maria in Firenze (Badia)*, 345–48. For the conflict between Stefano de Broy and the bishop (1295–1307), see ASF, Diplomatico, Certosa, August 10, 1299, Cestello, September 23, 1295, and Rinuccini, June 12 and June 20, 1330.

194. Swanson, *Church and Society*, 6.

195. Salvino Salvini, *Catalogo cronologico dei canonici*.



## Chapter 2

1. Brucker, *Florence*, 124, 172.
2. Röscher, “Serrata of the Great Council,” 67. The key political event in Venice was the so-called closing (*serrata*) of the Great Council in 1297, which Röscher has shown was simply a phase in a broader, longer social transformation.
3. Dameron, “Revisiting the Italian Magnates.”
4. See Sergi, “Vescovi, monasteri, aristocrazia militare,” 93n for references.
5. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3: 285, 554.
6. Pinto, “Per la storia della struttura sociale delle città”; Cammarosano, “Aspetti delle strutture familiari”; Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power*, chap. 5; Jones, *The Italian City-State*, chap. 3; Waley, *The Italian City-Republics*.
7. Wharton, *The Age of Innocence*, 55.
8. Wharton, *Age*, 19.
9. Tarassi, “Il regime guelfo,” 103–9. The best and most complete analysis of the social history of the period between 1250 and 1340 is Raveggi et al., eds., *Ghibellini, Guelfi*. The classic works in Florentine historiography concerning this period are Salvemini, *Magnati e popolani*, Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, and Ottokar, *Il comune di Firenze*. A short but clear overview of the principal social and political changes during this period (with bibliographies) can be found in Najemy, “Dante and Florence,” and Brucker, *Florence*, 34–44.
10. Tarassi, “Il regime guelfo,” 109–23, 148–60, esp. p. 154; Dameron, “Revisiting the Italian Magnates”; Lansing, *Florentine Magnates*. One group (the Bardi, Mozzi, Cerchi, for example) chose knighthood, the traditional designation. Another group of *popolani*, such as Acciaiuoli, went with guild membership (see Dameron, “Revisiting the Italian Magnates,” and Tarassi, “Il regime Guelfo,” 154).
11. Brucker, *Florence*, 34–44; Raveggi et al., *Ghibellini, Guelfi*, 157, 199, 224; Lansing, *Florentine Magnates*; Dameron, “Revisiting the Italian Magnates”; and Najemy, “Dante and Florence.”
12. Najemy, *Corporatism*, 323; Parenti, “Dagli Ordinamenti” 290 and 290n, 253 and 253n, 285, 286n. Daniela Medici counted that among the 381 priors between 1282 and 1292, magnates appeared 47 times (almost 13 percent of the total) “I primi dieci anni del priorato,” 200n.
13. Najemy, *Corporatism*, 328; Parenti, “Dagli Ordinamenti,” 297–98, 312n. Members of the Adimari, Visdomini, and Tosinghi first served in the Signoria in 1286 and appeared over twenty times in that magistracy between 1282 and 1532.
14. For the decline of the Ghibelline families, see Medici, “I primi dieci anni del priorato,” 208. See the essays by Tarassi, Medici, and Parenti, 73–391, for a full overview of the process between 1267 and 1300 by which those with economic power assumed political leadership as well. Brucker, in *Florence*, 34–44, 124, also provides a brief and clear overview of this period.
15. To generate my census of the secular clergy, I relied on the *Rationes decimarum* to provide me with the number of churches, and I used the same multiplier of three per church adopted by Swanson for his count of the English clergy (Swanson, *Church and Society*, 30). For the regular clergy, I also relied on the *Rationes decimarum*. Surviving documentation provides us with the populations for about 10 percent of that number. I generated the total number of regular clergy by extrapolating from that figure and taking into account the large populations of friars at Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella. Both Robert Davidsohn and Richard Trexler have provided estimates regarding the clerical population of the city. Davidsohn’s figure of 3 percent (percentage of clergy among the total urban and suburban population) was based on Villani (*Storia di Firenze*, 7: 107–8). For a later period, Trexler found that, in the fifteenth century, the clergy constituted 2 percent of the population. That figure escalated to 2.5 percent in 1427 and 7 percent in 1551 (due to an increase in the number of nuns). For Trexler’s figures, see *Public Life*, 33–34. My secular priest/population ratio of 1:116 seems considerably higher for the overall diocese than the figure given by La Roncière for the Val d’Elsa for 1330–40 (1:200, which included secular and regular priests; see “Dans la campagne florentine,” 285).
16. Swanson, *Church and Society*, 31.
17. Ronzani, “Vescovi, capitoli, e strategie famigliari.”
18. Keller, “Origine sociale,” 151–54; Swanson, *Church and Society*, 36–40; Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free*, 212.
19. Sergi, “Vescovi, monasteri, aristocrazia militare,” 93n; Keller, “Origine sociale,” 155–59; Brentano, *A New World*, 195–96.
20. For Padua, see Rigon, “Ricerche sull’Ordo Sancti Benedicti de Padua,” 513–24; Kohl, *Padua*,

20–27. For Pisa, see Ronzani, “Un aspetto della ‘Chiesa di città,’” 180–89; Tangheroni, *Politica*, 17–18, 23, 42–43.

21. Osheim, *A Tuscan Monastery*, introduction and chap. 2; Rigon, *Clew e città*, 93–95, 124, 147.

22. Dante’s criticisms regarding clerical behavior are scattered throughout the *Commedia*.

23. For Fiesole, see AVF, Ordinanze VIII.A.1 (1269–71), VIII.A.2 (1310), fol. 7r; La Roncière, “Dans la campagne Florentine,” 288.

24. Two dioceses which are exceptions are those of Coventry and Litchfield. At Litchfield the lists are almost unbroken from 1300 to 1532 (Swanson, *Church and Society*, 31–34).

25. Swanson, *Church and Society*, 41.

26. ASF, Diplomatico, Libreria Magliabecchiana, December 19, 1310.

27. AVF, Ordinanze VIII.A.2 (1310), fol. 7r; AAF, MAB 03, fols. 44v, 48v, 49r; Parenti, “Dagli Ordamenti,” 263.

28. For a discussion about ecclesiastical patronage rights, especially those relating to the Nerli, Visdomini, and Buondelmonti, all magnate lineages, see Lansing, *Florentine Magnates*, 64–83; Dameron, *Episcopal Power*; Bizzocchi, “La dissoluzione di un clan famigliare.”

29. ASF, Diplomatico, Riformagioni, December 6, 1301.

30. Lami, *Monumenta*, 1:258; ASF, Diplomatico, Certosa, April 30, 1297.

31. See ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 171. For the office of treasurer, see *Carte Stroziane* 72 (which describes its creation) and 234. See also Lami, *Monumenta*, 1: 258. For background on the Cavalcanti and Tosinighi, see Tarassi, “Il regime guelfo,” 112–13.

32. The archpriest appointed Jacopo dei Tornaquinci as canon of San Martino di Vado in 1325, and Corsellini dei Cavalcanti became archpriest of Pitiana in 1322. Jacopo di Lapo dei Adimari became archpriest of Figline in 1269, and Bartolomeo di Ruggero dei Tornaquinci was a canon at Vado in 1324 (AVF, Vescovado II.B.5, fols. 1–12, II.B.6, fols. 14–24).

33. Fiumi, “Fioritura,” 115: 397, 402.

34. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3: 190ff; Fiumi, “Fioritura” 115: 403; Salvini, *Catalogo*, 10, 12. Abbate di Ildebrandino Abbati was consul in 1176. Rustico di Abbate was consul of knights in 1208, and Migliore di Abbate was consul of merchants in 1203. Giovanni degli Abbati was prior of San Jacopo d’Oltrarno and served in the cathedral chapter. Jacopo became a canon of the chapter of San Lorenzo in 1281 and the *preposto* in 1286.

35. For a list of the magnate lineages, see Lansing, *Florentine Magnates*, 239–42.

36. For the cathedral chapter, see Lami, *Monumenta*, 1: 935; vol. 2, cc. 1134; ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 101, 1017, 171, 289; ACF, *Libro Rosso*, fol. 8r. For San Lorenzo, see ASL 656, 296, 299. For their appointments in the diocese of Fiesole, see AVF, Vescovado II.B.6, fol. 1; Ordinanze VIII.A.1, fol. 11. For more background on these lineages, see Becker, *Florence*, 1: 6, 24, 94; Fiumi, “Fioritura” 115:406–14. For information on the priorate, see Najemy, *Corporatism*, 323–31.

37. Guglielmo dei Frescobaldi had been archpriest of Sant’Ippolito Val di Pesa and a papal *cappellano* (Salvino, *Catalogo*, 16). His brother, Giovanni, was a canon of San Martino in Vado in the diocese of Fiesole. His nephew Tommaso was prior of San Jacopo d’Oltrarno and also a chapter canon in 1292 (Salvini, *Catalogo*, 13). Ruggero was once prior of San Lorenzo (ASL 299).

38. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:507.

39. Ruggero dei Mozzi was also in the cathedral chapter in 1300 (ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 79).

40. ASF, Diplomatico, Rinuccini, March 5, 1321; Tarassi, “Il regime guelfo,” 141–42, 106–9.

41. Becker, *Florence*, 1: 34; Najemy, *Corporatism*, 323–24.

42. We find Guadagni at Antica (Fiesole) in 1324 (AVF, Vescovado II.B.6, fol. 14). Members of the Peruzzi, Altoviti, and Acciaiuoli began to appear in the cathedral chapter from the beginning of the fourth decade of the fourteenth century (Salvini, *Catalogo*, 19–20; Bizzocchi, *Chiesa*, 48, and “La dissoluzione,” 28; Najemy, *Corporatism*, 323). Members of these lineages appeared ten or more times in the Signoria between 1282 and 1399. For the fortunes of the Buondelmonti, see Bizzocchi, “La dissoluzione.”

43. For the list of magnates, see Lansing, *Florentine Magnates*, 239–42. For the roster of priors, see Najemy, *Corporatism*, 323–31.

44. The following account of the story of Bellondo and his fellow canons of San Lorenzo is told in detail in Bowsky’s comprehensive essay “Chiostro con vista: i canonici di San Lorenzo a Firenze,” first published in *Ricerche Storiche* 25 (1995): 239–74, and reprinted in *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 157–96. My description of the following episode is based on my own reading of some of the primary sources and on Bowsky’s work (esp. *La chiesa*, 170ff). For the appointment of Bellondo, who was archpriest and vicar of Fiesole, see Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 160n, 170. Cianfogni observed that Bellondo was a member of the Bastari, a Florentine elite family (Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 171, citing

Cianfogno). As Bowsky noted (*La chiesa*, 164), Robert Davidsohn also explored the significance of this episode (*Forschungen*, 4: 164, and *Storia di Firenze*, 2:722).

45. At the church of San Michele Visdomini in 1250, a notary documented that the prior and canons accepted Bellondo into the chapter (“receperunt dominum Bellondum canonicum Fesulanum in eorum et dicte ecclesie canonicum et in fratrem”); ASL 571, cited and transcribed in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 170n, and this appointment was the first expectative in the chapter of San Lorenzo (Bowsky, *La chiesa*, citing Cianfogno, 170n, 171, 171n). In 1253 the prior of San Lorenzo, Fede, confirmed Bellondo had rights to distributions of income and food as the other canons (“Bellondo fecit gratiam quod possit habere et habeat in ipsa ecclesia Sancti Laurentii distributiones et victum et locum in dormitorio et refectorio ...”); ASL 624, also cited in full in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 172–73, 172n).

46. Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 171–74; ASL 624, cited in Bowsky, *La chiesa*, 172n.

47. Presbyter Jacopo, a canon of the *pieve* of San Lorenzo in the Mugello, promised not to harass Bellondo about his prebend anymore (“non molestare ipsum nec facere molestari seu inquietare vel inquietari ... super prebenda vel fructibus prebende”; ASL 623, cited and transcribed in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 175n, and 176 also includes a transcription of ASL 676).

48. ASL 583, as also cited in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 177n; 177–78. Ranieri d’Aliotto da Padule was identified as archpriest of the church of Padule (Mugello). For the myriad problems associated with his background, see Bowsky, *La chiesa*, 157n–158n.

49. Bowsky, *La Chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 159–60.

50. ASL 675 recorded the testimony, transcribed in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 160–69. For the complete history of this assault and the complicated reasons behind it, see Bowsky, *La chiesa*, 157–96. He has also included in the notes lengthy passages he transcribed from the documents.

51. For information about Chianni (di Marabotello), see Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 157n. “Iste Chianni tunc intravit dormitorium et dominus Bellondus secutus est eum ... cum fuit in dormitorio evaginavit gladium de latere habentem duas acies et dedit tria vulnera dicto Bellondo in introitu dormitorii” (ASL 675, also cited and transcribed in Bowsky, 160–61n).

52. ASL 675, as reproduced and discussed in detail in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 160–61n, 159–65, respectively. For all the details about Bellondo’s career, see Bowsky, esp. 170–87. He continued to appear in various documents associated with the chapter until the mid-1270s (186).

53. Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 3: 284–86.

54. For information on the family, see Tarassi, “Il regime guelfo,” 106–7. For Federico, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7: 40–41.

55. See ASF, NA 4111; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7: 40.

56. ASF Diplomatico, Rinuccini, January 17, 1316; NA 2356, fol. IV.

57. In early 1322 both he and the chapter of Impruneta appointed procurators to represent themselves at Rome (ASF, NA 2356, fol. 1r–v). Bene’s representative was the son of Bindo da Calenzano, Ser Dionigio Bindi da Calenzano.

58. ASF, NA 2359, fols. 186ff.

59. Mauro Ronzani, “Vescovi, capitoli, e strategie famigliari,” esp. 103, 120ff. Stefano’s full name, Stefano di Stefano de Broy appears in ASF, Diplomatico, San Francesco, August 24, 1299, and Certosa, August 25, 1299. Davidsohn identifies him as a Frenchman, Etienne de Busilli from Broy in the diocese of Lyons (*Storia di Firenze*, 3:602). He was called Stefano de Broy in thirteenth-century Florence, and that is the name I use in this book.

60. For general information on Stefano, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:602ff, 7:15–16, 90–91; Lami, *Monumenta*, 1:301–3. For Alcampo Abbadinghi’s role as papal collector in 1274–75, see Guidi, *Rationes decimarum*, 1: 3. The *Rationes decimarum* indicate that his prebend in the cathedral chapter of Florence was exempt from paying the papal tenth in 1302 because he was the collector of the tax in the diocese of Fiesole (“Pres. D. Stephani non solvit, quia collector in diocesi Fesulana”). See *Rationes decimarum*, 2: 6. Stefano was still a canon at Prato in 1295 (ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, September 23, 1295).

61. Salvini, *Catalogo*, 13; Lami, *Monumenta*, 1:302–3.

62. Stefano’s gratitude toward Ruggero is clear from the fact that in 1328 he left numerous legacies in his testament for the remedy of his soul. Along with others, Stefano expressed gratitude in his testament for all the help and favors (*beneficia*) he had received at his hands (ASF, NA 8745, fols. 97v–98r).

63. AAF, MAB 02, fol. 191–.

64. AAF, MAB 01 (Bullettone), fols. 43r–45v; Lami, *Monumenta*, 2: 725–6. The bishop had appointed Alessandro, apparently a local candidate (from nearby Pogna), in September of 1288 (Lami,

*Monumenta*, 1:259). For the build-up of property in the area by the bishops and for the full story of these transactions, see Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, 79–83, 180–83.

65. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 859; ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, September 23, 1295; Certosa April 30, 1297, August 10, 22, and 24, 1299; AAF MAB 03, fol. 1r; Lami, *Monumenta*, 1:301–2. Davidsohn (*Storia di Firenze*, 3: 602–4) argues that Stefano and Alcampo Abbadinghi, his colleague in the cathedral chapter, were supporters of the bishop within the chapter. This is not convincing. After all, Stefano had served as a procurator for both the cathedral chapter (1292) and the Campoli chapter (1289) in the course of their conflicts against Bishop Andrea Mozzi. It is always possible, however, that Stefano found common cause with the bishop on other issues.

66. For relevant documents relating to this dispute, which lasted from 1275 to 1304, see ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 373, 1028, 1031, 81. In December of 1301 Stefano was acting as vicar of the bishop of Fiesole (ASF, Diplomatico, Rosano, December 19, 1301). On October 20, 1304, the syndic of the chapter argued that Stefano (“who considers himself to be cathedral canon”) stole the grain from a room in the houses of the cloister (“dominus Stephanus qui se dicit canonicus Florentinus nuper sua temeritate accepit et derobavit eidem Capitulo Fiorentino circa X modios intra granum et bladum de quadam camera posita in domibus claustris dicte ecclesie Florentine”) (ASF, NA 2289, fols. 31vff.).

67. ASF, Diplomatico, Certosa, August 26, 1307. On May 27, 1327, as archpriest of Campoli, he appointed Piero del fu Giovanni as canon, a position formerly held by Giovanni degli Acciaiuoli (ASF, NA 8745, fol. 53v). It is possible that the dispute again returned because the chapter of Campoli was still unwilling to accept episcopal patronage.

68. On August 29, 1307, in an ecclesiastical court, Ruggero stood accused of having stained his life with scurrilous activities (“vitam suam diversis sceleribus maculare”). Among others, the charges accused him of sodomy and simony (“reatus sacrilegii sodomie, symonie”) (ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano, 179, 48 Protocollo 1299–1308, fol. 21r). Eight years later Stefano de Broy was a witness in the trial of one of Ruggero’s enemies, Bartolo Ceci (ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano, 179, 48, Protocollo 1299–1308, unfoliated, fols. 87r–89v).

69. ASF, NA 8745, fols. 97v–98r; mr; Lami, *Monumenta*, 1: 301–3.

70. Among the members of the Adimari in the cathedral chapter were Ildebrandino (from 1242; he became prior of San Lorenzo in 1269 and died in 1289), Filippo (from 1250), Bindo (1255), and Toruccio (from 1272). Lottieri della Tosa became a canon of the cathedral chapter in 1272, archdeacon in 1286, and eventually bishop in 1302. Tedice dei Visdomini (d. 1336) became a canon in 1307 and bishop of Fiesole in 1312. Regarding the Mozzi, Andrea entered the cathedral chapter in 1257, became bishop of the city in 1286, and later became bishop of Vicenza in 1295. His kinsman Ruggero (d. 1312) was a canon as well, present at least as early as 1293 (*Carte Stroziane* 72). Two members of the Buondelmonti lineage, Gentile (from 1312) and Stoldo, were in the chapter in the early fourteenth century; and among the Ubaldini, Ubalduino (later canon of Bologna) and Schiatta (d. 1297, bishop of Bologna in 1295) were members of the chapter. Federico dei Bardi, the opponent of Bene di Nero, entered the chapter in 1300, and his kinsman Giovanni (d. 1331) was a canon from 1328. Tommaso dei Frescobaldi was in the chapter from at least 1287, Ugolino from 1288, and Guglielmo from 1312. For the above references, see Salvini, *Catalogo cronologico*, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18. For specific information about Andrea Mozzi, see Palandri, “Il vescovo Andrea dei Mozzi.” For Schiatta degli Ubaldini, see Ronzani, “Vescovi, capitoli,” 130–32.

71. Ronzani, “Vescovi, capitoli, e strategie famigliari,” 102–3; Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 224; Rigon, “Le elezioni vescovili.” For the document that records the confirmation by Honorius IV of the election of Jacopo da Perugia, see ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 1017.

72. Innocent IV was particularly active in this regard in the Po Valley, particularly at Piacenza in 1243 and at Genoa in 1254 (Ronzani, “Vescovi, capitoli,” 118–19).

73. Lansing, *Florentine Magnates*, 241.

74. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 3: 121–22; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 2: 605, 629–30, 699, 7:110; ASF, Diplomatico, Santissima Annunziata, June 1, 1255; Rosano, June 8, 1255; Passignano, June 12, 1255; Stroziane-Uguccione, September 17, 1257. For the careers of Giovanni dei Mangiadori and Ottaviano degli Ubaldini (from the Mugello Valley, north of Florence), see Ronzani, “Vescovi, capitoli,” 130–32. Whereas the Fieschi (counts of Lavagna) had used the bishopric of Genoa as a stepping-stone to higher offices, the Ubaldini looked to the bishopric of Bologna (130).

75. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 3: 127–28; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3: 398–402; Ronzani, “Vescovi, capitoli,” 132–33; ACF, *Carte strozziane* 1017; ASF, Diplomatico, Stroziane-Uguccione, 1276; December 11, 1279; July 30, 1286; Baldovinetti, May 28, 1286; Santa Maria Novella, August 12, 1286; Dameron, “Conflitto rituale e ceto dirigente fiorentino”; Sanesi, *L’Antico ingresso dei vescovi fiorentini*.

76. For information on his life and election to the bishopric, see ACF, *Carte strozziane* 1037, 171,

72; Palandri, "Il vescovo Andrea dei Mozzi"; Sanesi, "Un ricorso al capitolo fiorentino"; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 3:129–30; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:209–11, 402–3, 599–606, 7:15–16. Tommaso Mozzi's donation is ASF, NA 15526, fol. 68v.

77. Lucio Riccetti, "Il vescovo Francesco Monaldeschi," 195–226, esp. 204–9, 216–18. This essay is the starting point for any study of Monaldeschi's bishopric, and it includes substantial bibliographies.

78. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 3:130–32; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3: 599–600, 7: 15–16; Riccetti, "Il vescovo Francesco Monaldeschi," 208–9, 216–19; ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Croce, February 27, 1297; Certosa, August 24, 1299.

79. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 3:132–35; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:398, 4:273–74, 361–63; Ronzani, "Vescovi, capitoli," 132–33; Compagni, *Chronicle*, 64. The story of the dispute over Montegiove is in Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, 169–70.

80. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:506–9; 7: 18–19. Lottieri della Tosa died in March of 1309; Antonio became bishop in either October or November of that year, according to Davidsohn (506n). In fact, he was bishop by late October (ASF, Diplomatico, San Pier Maggiore, October 27, 1309). For a text of his two constitutions, see Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 182–296. For Compagni's characterization of Bishop Antonio, see Compagni, *Chronicle*, 85. Some writers have called him Antonio dell'Orso, since his father was Orso. However, I prefer to follow Davidsohn's habit of calling him Antonio degli Orsi (or "Tony Bears"), as his grandfather was also named Orso (ASV Collectoriae, 31r).

81. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:509.

82. ASV, Collectoriae 414, fols. 4r, 21r; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:845–48. For a description of the legal scope of medieval inquisitions in general, see Kelly, "Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy."

83. The proceedings of the inquests are in ASV, Collectoriae 414, fols. 6v–33v, and AVF, Tribunali Ecclesiastici XIV.III.A.25 (1322–23), fols. 1–75. For the Marignolle property, see AVF, Tribunali Ecclesiastici XIV.III.A.25 (1322–23), fols. 4v, 49r, 56r. The repayments are found at ASV, Collectoriae 414, fols. 22 and 31r. For information on Antonio's life and the date of his death, see Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 3: 135–40; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:506–7, 845–48. The papal officials ordered the Visdomini guardians to pay or face excommunication ("ut solverent infra certum terminum iam elapsus de bonis mense Episcopalis predictae", AVF, Tribunali Ecclesiastici XIV.III.A.25, fol. 29r). The papal officials in the inquest prolonged the deadline throughout the spring and summer of 1323.

84. AVF, Tribunali Ecclesiastici XIV.III.A.25 (1322–23), fol. 75v. Francesco da Barberino was one of the most important writers of early fourteenth-century Florence, and he was also an episcopal vicar and executor (along with Francesco Forzetti) of the bishop's testament. Among his works was the misogynistic poem "The Conduct and Customs of Women," written perhaps as early as the 1320s, perhaps after his patron's death. Francesco died a victim of the plague in 1348 (Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria*, 154–55). For a recent assessment of the career of Francesco da Barberino (1264–1348), "still medieval in his orientation toward the ancients," see Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*, 229. The notes from the inquest in the Fiesolean and Vatican archives seem to record a final accounting of the reimbursed funds. They included over one thousand florins from the sale of Bishop Antonio's property and estate. Only fifteen florins were received from the bishop's father, Orso di Orso di Valentino (ASV, Collectoriae 414, fols. 27v–31r). For Antonio's cathedral tomb, see Kreytenberg, "Le sculture trecentesche," 73.

85. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 3:140–41; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:848–49; *Statuti della repubblica*, 1:273–74 ("Amore et gratia populi Communis predicti et pro tollendis scandalis et scismatibus in civitate et comitatu Florentie").

86. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 3:144–48; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:21–24.

87. ASF, NA 15527, fols. 160v, 145v. For other references, see Lesnick, *Preaching*, 186; Raveggi, "Il regime Ghibellino," 36.

88. Lesnick, *Preaching*, 76, 92.

89. Lesnick, *Preaching*, 185–97; Lansing, *Florentine Magnates*, 239–40.

90. Orlandi, *Necrologio*, 1–96–263; 2:600–603.

91. Salvemini, *Magnati e popolani*, 9–76; see Parenti, "Dagli Ordinamenti," 295.

92. This is essentially the position of George Holmes as well (*Florence*, 27–29).

93. Bizzocchi, *Chiesa*, Kent, *The Rise of the Medici*.

94. Wharton, *Age of Innocence*, 338.

95. Najemy, *Corporatism*, 130–31.



1. AAF, MAI 001, fols. 17r–18v.
2. AAF, MAI, fol. 55v; Villani reports the dearth lasted from 1328 to 1330. The price of grain rose from 17 soldi a *staio* to 28 soldi, then to 30 soldi in the course of two years (Villani, XI.119, 2:670).
3. Of the dioceses paying the papal tenth in Pisan lire during the *quadremium* 1276–80, Florence paid the most (20,932 lire, 4 soldi), followed by Lucca (16,019 lire) and Arezzo (13,306 lire, 16 soldi) (*Rationes decimarum*, 1:xli).
4. For *mezzadria*, see Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 245–48; Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 237–46; Cherubini, “La mezzadria toscana,” 134–42; Klapisch-Zuber, “Mezzadria e insediamenti rurali”; Jones, “From Manor to Mezzadria.”
5. Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 245–48; Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 237–46; Cherubini, “La mezzadria Toscana,” 134–42; Heath, *Church and Realm*, 47–62; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 403–35; Nelli, *Signoria ecclesiastica*; La Roncière, “Indirect Taxes or ‘Gabelles.’ ” For taxation and the clergy in the 1320’s, see Trexler, “Death and Testament,” 35–6.
6. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 5:351–54.
7. Luzzato, *Economic History*; Jones, *The Italian City-State* (chap. 3); Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica”; Tangheroni, “Il sistema economico della Toscana nel trecento”; Barbadoro, *Le finanze*; Fiumi, “Sui rapporti economici tra città e contado,” “Fioritura e decadenza”; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*; Herlihy, “Santa Maria Impruneta”; La Roncière, *Florence, centre économique*; Brucker, *Florence*, 67–84.
8. Wickham, *The Mountains and the City*, 219, 279, 353; La Roncière, *Un changeur*, 8, 125–30, 183, 210–12; Marshall, *Local Merchants*, 24, 114; Hunt, *The Medieval Super-Companies*, 18.
9. Jones, *Economia e società*, 3–189; Hunt, *The Medieval Super-Companies*, 159; La Roncière, *Un changeur*, 127.
10. Cherubini, “La mezzadria toscana,” 136–41; Malanima, “La formazione di una regione economica,” 247–49; Pinto, “Per la storia della struttura sociale delle città Toscane,” 195; Klapisch-Zuber, “Mezzadria e insediamenti”; Cherubini, “Qualche considerazione sulle campagne dell’Italia,” 73–100, and “Forme e vicende degli insediamenti,” 145–74; Herlihy, “Santa Maria Impruneta”; and Jones, “From Manor to Mezzadria.”
11. Hoshino, *Industria tessile*, 4–19, 70–77; Prestwich, “Italian Merchants in England,” 89–90.
12. Luca Mola et al., *La seta in Italia*, 54. In Florence in the fourteenth century the market for silk was local (Villani does not even mention it), and only after 1400 was silk produced for export (403).
13. Hunt, *The Medieval Super-Companies*, 18–36; Brucker, *Florence*, 74–77, 132–33.
14. Tarassi, “Il regime guelfo,” 104–5; Prestwich, “Italian Merchants in England,” esp. 79–104; *Edward I*, 521–22, 533–35. Between 1296 and 1310 the Frescobaldi advanced the crown 150,000 pounds (Prestwich, “Italian Merchants,” 79).
15. For economic relations between the papacy and Florentines, see Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 192–93, 197–98; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 6:529–94; Hunt, *The Medieval Super-Companies*, 61–62; Tarassi, “Il regime guelfo,” 105–6, 142n. Davidsohn also includes a list of ecclesiastical appointments of members of merchant banking families by the papacy (588–94).
16. Hunt, *The Medieval Super-Companies*, 52–64; Abulafia, “Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy,” 377–88; Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 5, 77–86; Tarassi, “Il regime guelfo,” 103–9 (for the Mozzi); Epstein, *An Island for Itself*, 270–71.
17. Abulafia, “Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy,” 381–82.
18. Abulafia, “Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy,” 384–85; Pinto, “Coltura e produzione,” 272–73, and *Il libro del Biadaiolo*, 75–78; La Roncière, *Florence, centre économique*, 1:564–83, 3:782–828, 994–1000, and *Prix et salaires*, 526–27; Hunt, *The Medieval Super-Companies*, 47–48, 64. The *divieto* was in effect by 1285 and incorporated into the 1325 statute of the *podestà* (La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 571). The prohibition was probably not enforceable.
19. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, 119; Tarassi, “Il regime guelfo,” 103–9 (for the Mozzi).
20. De Rosa, *Alle origini*, 70–71, 74, 78–79, 87–88; Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 394–95; Barbadoro, *Le finanze*, 6, 27, 36–40; Fiumi, “Fioritura e decadenza” (1959), 460–66; Herlihy, “Direct and Indirect Taxation,” 398–99.
21. For the discussion about Florentine and Tuscan communal taxation, see Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 390–401; De Rosa, *Alle origini*, 87–89, 96; Barbadoro, *Le finanze*, 35–146; 409–18, 449–516, 560–66; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 5:202–31; Schevill, *History of Florence*, 198–213; La Roncière, “Indirect Taxes or ‘Gabelles,’” 140–49, and *Prix et salaires*, chap. 3, esp. 35; Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families*, 1–3; Luzzato, *An Economic History of Italy*, 123–24; Bowsky, *Finance*, 132, 190, 219–24, 288–89, 341; Herlihy, “Direct and Indirect Taxation,” 385–87, 398–401; Molho, *Florentine Public Finances*, 60–64. For information about the importance of voluntary loans in

Siena and Lucca in the second half of the fourteenth century, paid in particular by ecclesiastical communities, see Caferro, *Mercenary Companies*, 103–19; Meek, *Lucca*, 54, 72n; Bowsky, *Finance*, 190, 196, 219–24, 341. Venice was relying on forced loans as early as 1207 (Luzzato, *Economic History*, 124). Davidsohn argued that the Florentines rarely reimbursed forced loans (*Storia di Firenze*, 5:231). In Siena the interest rates on voluntary loans were higher than those on forced loans, as one would expect (perhaps double the stated rate of 5 to 30 percent). They were also guaranteed (Bowsky, *Finance*, 224). Fryde estimated that the Bardi received 26 percent interest on the loans they advanced the king of England between 1328 and 1331. Normally, those loans were secured on customs duties (Prestwich, “Italian Merchants,” 79, 84).

22. Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*, 93–109.

23. Hunt, *The Medieval Super-Companies*, 159–165.

24. Barbadoro, *Le finanze*, 410–13; Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 301, 429–30; Herlihy, “Santa Maria Impruneta,” 265.

25. Zorzi, “The ‘Material Constitution’ of the Florentine Dominion,” 14–15; Stefani, *Cronaca*, 62; Villani VIII.88, 1:547; VIII.111, 1:576; VIII.116, 1:579; X.12, 2:221; X.80, 2:285; XI.119, 2:670–71; Abulafia, “Southern Italy,” 382, 385; La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, chap. 3, esp. 39.

26. Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, chap. 4; *Rationes decimarum*, 1:3, 5, 10–12; *Rationes decimarum*, 2:3. In the 1274–75 assessment, the cathedral chapter made the third highest payment, 91 Pisan lire, 18 soldi, and 5 denari, to the papal collectors (p. 5). In 1328 the income of the Badia was still very high (Enriques, *Le carte del monastero di Santa Maria in Firenze*, 348).

27. Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families*, 94. For Pinto’s figures, see “Forme di conduzione,” 265.

28. For discussion about episcopal and secular clerical income relative to that of the mendicants, see Trexler, “Death and Testament,” 35, “The Bishop’s Portion,” 406, 437, and *Synodal Law*, 14–15. Violante has argued that Italian bishops focused on their rural holdings and left the cities to others (“Primo contributo,” 200). Davidsohn had very little at all to say about episcopal landholding and economic policies.

29. For a list of the castles and communities under episcopal jurisdiction, see ASF, Diplomatico, Strozzi-Uguccione, 1276; Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, chapter 4; Lami, *Monumenta*, 2:735; AAF, MAB 02, fol. 31. For possessions in the Val di Sieve (including the *palatium*), see AAF, MAB 03, fols. 38v, 52r–54v; AAF MAB 04, fol. 27v; Nelli, *Signoria ecclesiastica*.

30. Nelli, *Signoria ecclesiastica*, 34–39; AAF, MAB 04, fol. 120.

31. AAF, MAB 03, fol. lv.

32. AAF, MAB 04, fol. 40r. Another example comes from the Sieve River Valley, where Bishop Antonio took *poderi* previously held by servile tenants (*fideles et coloni*) and leased them out for three years for five *moggia* of spelt (AAF, MAB 04, fol. 89v).

33. AAF, MAB 04, fol. 51r. In 1319, Vanno Banchi, listed as being a resident of Florence (parish of San Simone), leased out episcopal income in both the *pievi* of Campoli and Decimo on a five-year lease for twenty *moggia* and half of all his chickens (fol. 114v; also AAF MAII 001 2, fol. 9v). Apparently, he did not finish that lease, as in 1321 (July 11), Bracino di Giovanni and Silvestro di Naldo (both Florentines, both from the parish of San Felice in Piazza) leased all the episcopal income from the *pieviere* of Campoli, except for what came from Fabbrica. The rent was ten *moggia*, due in August (fol. 133r). In 1322 the Visdomini guardians of the bishopric acknowledged that Bracino paid them nine *moggia* and eighteen *staia* of grain (fol. 133r). Bracino renewed the lease in 1322 (fol. 140r).

34. The income included all “affictus, pensiones, praestationes, albergarlas, fidelitates, et census, proventus, et servitia” from the curia and *pieve* of Castelfiorentino and the *pieve* of Celiaula. The portion reserved was a third of the *finis* and *gabelle* of Castelfiorentino that the commune owed the bishop (AAF, MAB 03, fol. 57r). This leaseholder, Narduccio, also swore on the same day to serve as an advocate of the bishop in ecclesiastical and secular courts. This was a common aspect of episcopal clientage (fol. 57v).

35. AAF, MAB 04, fol. 64r. In the central Mugello the bishops also leased their extensive holdings *a mezzadria* on a short term basis in the parish of San Michele di Rabbiacarina (fol. 139v). Customary servile tenants also paid perpetual rents at Valcava (fol. 130r) and Molezzano (fol. 124r).

36. The renter of a 1310 lease elsewhere in the Mugello paid ten *moggia* and held the lease for four years. He was a Florentine, Vanno di Albertino Malagonella, from the parish of Sant’Andrea (AAF, MAB 04, fol. 45).

37. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 2:629. Since 1159 communal permission was necessary whenever ecclesiastical land was alienated (Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 1:1001). This stipulation was probably rarely followed and enforced. In December 1304, Parigi, the vicar of the bishop, rented 144 *staiora* of



land to several residents of the parish of San Lorenzo. They included numerous vineyards. The leases were for four years. In the first year the renters had to pay several *cogni* of new wine. In the next three they paid annual rents in cash (AAF, MAB 04, fols. 3r–4r).

38. Violante, “Primo contributo,” 200, stressed the role of rural holdings to Italian bishoprics. For examples of the different types of episcopal tenants in the central city in 1318 and 1319, see AAF, MAB 04, fol. 125r (*pizzacagnolo*, food vendor), fol. 119r, (*calzaiuolo*, cobbler), fol. 103v (*fornato*, baker), fol. 1031 (*setaiuolo*, silk merchant or weaver).

39. For the property sale, see ASF, Diplomatico, Santissima Annunziata, May 28, 1255. A thirty-third *apotheca* was leased in 1318 for fourteen lire and sixteen soldi. For the first mention of episcopal shops and houses, see ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Lucia, May 3, 1273. Florentine tax collectors were assessing taxes on men who lived in a new house (*domo novo*) of the bishop next to the episcopal palace (*iuxta palatium Episcopatus*). For examples of shops rented for payments in florins and not in *lire a piccioli*, see AAF, MAB 04, fols. 10r, 14r. 103r, 108v.

40. ASF, Diplomatico, San Niccolò, July 18, 1297.

41. AAF, MAB 04, fols. 26v, 113v.

42. In 1268 Castelfiorentino paid the bishop fifteen lire for 1268 and 1267 (ASF, Diplomatico, Archivio Generale, December 11, 1268). In 1328 Castelfiorentino paid ten lire (AAF, MA1 001, fols. 14v–15v).

43. ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 271.

44. “Per la libra che pagammo per loro” (ACF, *Quadernuccio*, fol. 25).

45. ASF, NA 20719; ACF, *Entrata e Uscita del 1300*, fols. 13r–15r.

46. ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 80. In 1262 the chapter was still able to collect seigneurial dues in the Mugello (ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 14). The canons appointed three syndics to collect the chapter’s feudal dues (the former imperial taxes), its rents, its tithes, and all its other income (“*datia, et accatum, afficta, pensiones, decima et redditus et omnes alias reollectas pro ipsa canonica*”).

47. ACF, *Quadernuccio*, fols. 2r, 12r. In 1271, the chapter bought a house for six lire in the parish of Santa Maria Sopra Porta (2r). In 1279 the chapter bought a *casolare* (undeveloped lot), with money borrowed from Lotto di Ardingho and Cino di Dietaiuto (10v).

48. ACF, *Quadernuccio*, fols. 12r and 14r.

49. A good example is the lease of a *terrenum unius casolaris* in the parish of San Lorenzo to Jacopo di Megliorello (parish of Santa Felicita) for twenty-nine years, contracted on March 2, 1327 (ACF, *Libro Rosso*, fol. 5v). For other examples, see fols. 31, 7v, 20r.

50. ACF, *Libro Rosso*, fol. 8r–v.

51. See ASL 540. In 1278 Giunta di Giunta da Careggi leased property at Careggi for five years for two soldi (ASL 529). In 1295 two brothers leased wooded property in the parish of San Pietro di Careggi for five years (ASL 735). In 1310 the rent was two soldi a year (ASL 589). Perhaps this was the same property, indicating that the rent had not increased in thirty-two years. In 1292 the prior leased for eight years a vineyard, land, and half a house at Le Citine for thirty-seven lire, as well as for a certain amount of eggs and chickens to be paid at the feast of Saint Lawrence (ASL 786). Le Citine also was the site of a lease (perhaps the same property) in 1278 (ASL 595). For a general discussion regarding the property interests of San Lorenzo, see Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 1–90 (a republication of the essay “Pietà e proprietà nella Firenze medievale: Una casa in San Lorenzo,” first published as *Piety and Property in Medieval Florence*).

52. The condition for the donation however was that the canons of San Lorenzo had to allow his mother to continue living there (ASL 710).

53. ASL 654. Schiatta di Bonacorso, parish of San Lorenzo, sold the prior of San Lorenzo (Bindo) a house in Borgo San Lorenzo for twelve lire, five soldi in August 1270.

54. ASL 492. For Gano dei Anchioni, his family, and his economic holdings and relation to San Lorenzo, see Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, esp. 20, 32–37, 44; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 2:508–9, 3:252–53.

55. Bowsky explored various scenarios regarding the motives of San Lorenzo in *Piety and Property*, 79–82, and *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 72–82.

56. Bowsky, *Piety and Property*, 49–79.

57. ASF, NA 3140, fols. 16, 51r, 59v. San Jacopo delle Vigne also had land and a house that it could lease, and the *podere* of San Miniato fra le Torri was located in the parish of San Pietro di Monticelli in the suburbs (ASF, NA 3140, fol. 45r; and 2356, fol. 95v).

58. In his rule, Saint Francis admonished his followers to embrace absolute poverty. They were not to touch money in any way, and they were not to own books or buildings. In 1245, nineteen years after the death of the saint, Pope Innocent IV found a way to circumvent the commandment of the rule.

According to Ordinem vestrum, the papacy owned all the goods of the Friars Minor. The general chapter of the order at Narbonne in 1260 repeated the stricture that the friars were not to own anything at all. In 1322 Pope John XXII issued the bull *Ad conditorem canonum*, which renounced the possession by the papacy of the property of the friars. A year later *Cum inter nonnullos* declared the doctrine of evangelical poverty heretical (Lawrence, *The Friars*, 32–53, 60–64; Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli*, 20–21; Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty*, 49–51).

59. Richard Trexler once suggested to me in a conversation in 1994 that someone should closely “follow the money” in and out of the friaries.

60. ASF, NA 15525, fols. 62r–63r, 1v.

61. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 608, *Giornale del Camarlingho* (1321–23), fol. 14v; Santissima Annunziata 119, 1270, *Repetorio di cartapecore*, 60. Circumstantial evidence indicates that this payment represented six months’ rent. The annual rent was fifty-six lire, and the *podere* included a house.

62. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 270, fol. 70; McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 299.

63. ASF, NA 11388, fols. 127r, 198r; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 196–201. Other sources of income for Orsanmichele in 1324 and 1325 include dues (11 percent), heirs (2.5 percent), and commemorative services (2.4 percent) (Henderson’s table 6.1, p. 201). Landed income does not figure into the total at all.

64. ASF, NA 9569, fol. 57r; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 172 (table 5.2).

65. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santa Maria Novella 102, 291, Entrata a Uscita, fols. 18r–20r; 25r. For 1322, Henderson calculated income from rent as totaling 147 lire (*Piety and Charity*, 172).

66. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santa Maria Novella 102, 291, Entrata a Uscita, fols. 15r–33r. This seems to conform to Henderson’s figures as well (*Piety and Charity*, 172).

67. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, June 23, 1288. Founded originally to help the poor (the “Poor of Christ”), by 1374 it had come to focus on the sick (Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 347).

68. Herlihy, “Santa Maria Impruneta,” 242, 244, 250. Herlihy only looked, however, at the 1276–77 assessment.

69. ASF, NA 2355, fols. 7v, 8r.

70. ASF, NA 11250, fols. 13r, 44v, nov, 123v.

71. ASF, NA 2357, fols. 22r, 23v, 25r, 30r, 33v, 38r–v.

72. ASF, NA 11250, fols. 13r–15v; 121r.

73. ASF, NA 2355, fol. 20v (lease dated 1301); NA 2538, fol. 50r (lease dated 1325).

74. ASF, NA 2355, fol. 14r; 2354, fol. 8v.

75. ASF, NA 2359, fols. 42–54.

76. La Roncière, “A Monastic Clientele?” 56–59, 61, 66. Of the male population in the parishes around the monastery, 15 to 50 percent were tenants of the monastery in the early fourteenth century (56).

77. Jones, “Le finanze,” 90.

78. Jones, “Le finanze,” 91–100. The location of this property was in the western section of the city. Renters paid the money rents in Florence (97). Only in one area of the countryside in the Mugello did the monastery possess any secular jurisdiction at all (90–93).

79. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 37, Protocollo 1309–13, fols. 1r, 87v; Protocollo 1315–17, fols. 28v and 29r; 36, Protocollo di Bonafede del fu Benedetto da Passignano 1277–89, fols. 22v, 23r, 30r. For a series of leases dating from 1320 to 1322, see ASF, NA 1711. Passignano obtained the right to name the *podestà* in 1258 (Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 5:351).

80. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 34, Protocollo degli affitti, 1268–88, fol. 125r.

81. A typical entry reads: “Heredes Scolayni solverunt dicto domino Benigno carnerario recipienti pro ipso monasterio Sancti Michaelis de Passignano de mense mai pro domo sua nomine pensionis denarios viginti pisani monete” (ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 34, Protocollo degli affitti 1268–88, fol. ir). Rents for shops and houses are listed on the first five folios.

82. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 34, Protocollo degli affitti, 1268–88, fols. 12v–14v.

83. The rents in kind came “de omnibus suis terris et poderibus positis in curia sive districtu de Passignano et alibi apud granarium ipsius monasterii” (ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 34 Protocollo degli affitti, 1268–88, fol. 22v). On January 11, 1299, the abbey took five *moggia* and sold them to merchants from Montegonzi for ten soldi per *staio* (fol. 4v).

84. “Item a Boso pro uno modio et XXII staia grani detenti anno LXXXXVI ad rationem X lire—XIX lire, III soldi, IV denari” (ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 11, Libro di Entrate, Uscita 1297–1303, fol. 5r). In 1298 the *pieve* of Bossolo owed two *moggia* for 1298 and one *moggio* for a past

year for a mill it seaded at Perticaia. The sum came to twenty-six lire, ten soldi (fol. 2v). In a later payment the archpriest of Bossolo paid the abbey eight florins for the two *moggia*, totaling eighteen lire, twelve soldi (fol. 6r).

85. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 34, Protocollo degli affitti, 1268–88, fols. 14v–23r.

86. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 36 (Protocollo 1295–1306), fols. 4r, 24r.

87. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 34, Protocollo degli affitti, 1306–8, 2r; Nelli, *Signoria ecclesiastica*, 43–48.

88. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 11 (Libro di Entrata, Uscita 1297–1303), fols. 1–5.

89. La Roncière, “Condizioni economiche,” 355–56. For basic references on the tithe in Italy, see Castagnetti, “Le décime e i laïd”; Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes*, 132–46. The tithe first became obligatory in Italy during the Carolingian period (La Roncière, “Condizioni economiche,” 337; Boyd, *Tithes*, 36–37).

90. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, October 3, 1281. “Item reliquid pro anima sua et pro restitutione decimarum detentorum plebi de Corella” (ASF, NA 9501, fol. 3). See also the testament of Ser Jacopo del fu Ser Aldobrandino, who gave a legacy of six lire to restore tithes and property taken from the church (“pro retentione decimarum et pro aliis illicitis preceptis de bonis dicte ecclesie”) (ASF, NA 9501, fol. 138v).

91. ASF, Diplomatico, San Pancrazio, April 22, 1315; AAF, MAB 04, fol. 131r.

92. AAF, MAB 02, fol. 32v; ASF, Diplomatico, Stroziane-Uguccone, May 29, 1277. For the bishopric of Fiesole and Monteloro, see AVF, Mensa Vescovile XVII.3, fol. 31.

93. ACF, *Quadernuccio*, fol. 8v; ASF, NA 20719, fol. 26v.

94. ASL, *Entrata e Uscita*, fols. 9–15. San Lorenzo sold some of the grain it received. In 1306 the *camerarius* sold two *staia* grain for one lire, twelve soldi (the equivalent of sixteen soldi per *staio*). In October 1306 Presbyter Ricco, on behalf of San Pier Maggiore (the convent), paid four lire for tithes of years past (“pro décima pro annis elapsis”) (fol. 21v).

95. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, October 20, 1276. The 1277 commission was appended to the October 1276 document.

96. ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, July 28, 1318.

97. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, October 20 1276; ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 14; ASF, NA 3541, fol. 1r; 11118, fol. 15v. In 1330 the archpriest was disputing with a local man and his son over tithes, and the prior of Santo Stefano di Linari arbitrated (NA 11118, fol. 82v).

98. ASF, NA 7816, fol. 31r–v; 2359, fol. 146r; 11118, fol. 82r–v.

99. ASF, NA 3782, fol. 10r; 8743, fol. 100v.

100. ASF, Diplomatico, Olivetani, January 17, 1334; January 28, 1334; June 2, 1335; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 248. To adjust the income upward to account for testamentary income and tithes, I am relying on La Roncière’s reasonable estimate that (in the Val d’Elsa) tithes represented 30 percent of all income and testamentary legacies, 15 percent (“Dans la campagne,” 285–87). Figures relating to the cost of living in the countryside are unavailable, so we have to rely on urban figures.

101. In 1335 there were fifty-one soldi to the gold florin (Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 429). To arrive at these figures, I multiplied the number of lire by twenty (the number of soldi in each lira), and then divided the product by fifty-one (the number of soldi in each florin in 1335).

102. La Roncière, “Condizioni economiche,” 355–56, and “Dans la campagne,” 285–88. To generate the number of florins into their equivalent in soldi, I relied on the table in Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 430 (I used the figure for 1378—sixty-eight soldi per florin—as the number for 1377 does not appear on the table).

103. ASF, NA 2358, fol. 89r. The primary study of wages, income, and prices for the decades between 1280 and 1380 is La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*. See esp. 280, 326, 394–95. To my knowledge, he is also the first to explore the issue of clerical income in the Florentine countryside for the period between 1280 and 1350 (“Dans la campagne,” 285–86).

104. In 1307 the canon of San Frediano, Presbyter Bonsi, protested before the prior that he had not been paid for four years (thirty-two lire total, 8 per year). The prior could not respond positively because the church did not have the resources (“quia facultates ecclesie non sufficient ad alias expensas necessarias”), ASF, NA 18783, fol. 64v. Some stipends came in the form of grain, which were far preferable to those paid in cash. On July 27, 1327, the prior of Santa Maria di Linari appointed a certain Tingho as a cleric with the salary (*cum salario*) of two *moggia* (or forty-eight *staia*) of grain per year (ASF, NA 11118, fols. 10v–13v). This was equivalent (roughly) to 29.8 lire per year (the average price per *staio* between 1320 and 1327 was 12 soldi, 5 denari), or 2.48 lire per month (49.6 soldi). This amount would still not be enough to support a single person for a month in the city of Florence in 1327. For grain prices, see *Il libro del Biadaio*, 52; Herlihy, “Santa Maria Impruneta,” 259. Herlihy’s

average for 1326–50 is significantly smaller than Pinto's for 1320–27: 9.4 soldi. If one uses his figure instead, we come to 225.6 soldi per year (18.8 per month, or slightly less than one lire). For the close and cooperative relationships that existed between the parish clergy and the local population, see La Roncière, "Condizioni economiche," 353–54.

105. ASF, NA 20719, fol. 52v; NA 21354, filza 2, busta 1, fol. 35; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 250; Goldthwaite, "I prezzi del grano a Firenze," 32.

106. For recent assessment of the work of Brunetto Latini, see Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*, 205–7. For burial fees, see McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 287–88; Ronzani, "L'Organizzazione della cura d'anime," 59; Bowsky, " 'Populus Sancti Laurentii,' " 159–60 (now published in Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*); and Wickham, *Community and Clientele*, 76. Bowsky very correctly reminds us that burial "fees" were actually "offerings" (*oblaciones*) made at funerals. For burial in mendicant cemeteries, see Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 212.

107. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, 90. Three cases went before the episcopal court over burial rights: San Lorenzo versus San Giovanni Battista (1276), Santa Maria Impruneta versus Sant'Ilari a Pitigliolo (1301), and San Lorenzo versus several female convents (1326).

108. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, 90; Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 265. Strocchia gives as another example the success of the convent of San Pier Maggiore to restrict the burial rights of the nearby Cestello (90).

109. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, June 23, 1311; McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 287–88; Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 257–59.

110. Trexler, "Death and Testament"; "The Bishop's Portion," 406.

111. Another effective method to test the validity of Trexler's hypothesis is to take a representative sample of urban parishes and actually count the number and amount of legacies that went to the secular clergy and to the mendicants.

112. For background regarding the conflicts between seculars and mendicants in the thirteenth century, see Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty*, 1–29; and Lawrence, *The Friars*, 152–65.

113. The remaining eighteen were associated with testaments that for some reason did not specify gender.

114. The principal study of this community is Benvenuti Papi, "Donne religiose nella Firenze del due-trecento," in "*In castro poenitentiae*," 593–34, previously published in *Le mouvement confraternel*, 41–82.

115. ASF, NA 15527, fols. 138v, 95r, 33v, 73r, 79v, 141r, 166r, 170v, 174v, 190r.

116. ASF, NA 3140, fols. 40v–43r.

117. ASL 679.

118. ASL, *Entrata e Uscita*, fols. 18v, 22–24.

119. ASL 1915<sup>1</sup> (dated 1306–7).

120. ASL 545. The friars also promised not to enter the parish to hear confessions without special license of the prior of San Lorenzo. For more details, see Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 265.

121. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, June 23, 1311, NA 2355, fol. 19r.

122. ASF, NA 2358, fols. 67v, 66v, 52v; 2356, fol. nor.

123. ASF, NA 2356, fol. 86r; 2358, fol. 66v.

124. In 1308 the executors (*fideicommissarii*) of a certain Presbyter Simone, the archpriest Ranieri and Neso, rector of San Cristoforo a Strada, distributed the legacies of the former priest. Every chaplain and rector of the *piviere* received ten soldi, and the archpriest received forty (ASF, NA 2354, fol. 77r).

125. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santa Maria Novella 102, 291 (Entrata e Uscita: Compagnia di San Pier Martire 1312–40, 1313–34), fols. 1–12. For a tabulation of numbers of bequests for the period between 1300 and 1349, see Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 170. In order of numbers of bequests, Orsanmichele received the most (697), followed by Misericordia (362), and San Pier Martire (20). Bequests to San Pier Martire increased steadily in the opening decades of the fourteenth century (from less than five between 1290 and 1309 to ten for the period between 1310 and 1329) (Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 171).

126. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 201 (table 6.1).

127. The bishopric bought the property at Padule from Maso di Ruggerino Minerbetti and agreed to pay in three installments (one on the day of purchase and two over two succeeding years on the feast day of Saint John) (ASF, NA 11252, fols. 201ff.). For Pievevecchia, see AAF, MAII 001 2, fol. 53r. The bishop purchased the *podere* at Montughi (ASF, NA 6695).

128. ACF, *Quadernuccio*, fol. 2r.

129. For Stefano's rental of the shop, see ASF, NA 20719, fol. 3r. For the permission of the chapter, see ASL 684. Those who extended permission for this sale were the canons themselves: Stefano,

Simone, Giandonato, and Manno. The document describes Stefano as someone who had other property in the vicinity (“qui quidem habens ibi domos atque terrenum ad ipsius petiole terre emptionem adspicat”; ASF 762).

130. ASF, NA 8745, fol. 66.

131. For examples of purchases and exchanges, see ASF, NA 11250, fols. 2r–13r, 17v–18r, 110r. Purchases dropped off in the fourteenth century, but there were still a few examples (NA 2356, fol. 12r).

132. AAF, MAB 03, fol. 65v.

133. AAF, MAB 13, fol. 18v. The amount of payment varied from place to place, as the *castaldionus* for Castelfiorentino received thirteen florins (18v). The custodian (*custodium*) of the palace at Monterotundo in the Mugello received seven lire for four months service in 1324 (23v).

134. The *castaldionus* of the large *podere* of Sant’Antonio di Montughi was paid twenty lire per year, plus a *moggio* of grain, a quantity of meat, and a *cogno* of wine (AAF, MAB 04, fol. 175v).

135. He was paid “pro remuneratione studii et sollicitudinis” in matters relating to several cases (“causas et questiones”) before secular courts (AAF, MAB 13, fol. 12r).

136. The cost for the loggia was eighty lire (AAF, MAB 03, fol. 65r). The shop at San Casciano cost eighteen lire (AAF, MAI 001, fol. 59r). For the episcopal palace, see ASF, Diplomatico, Olivetani, August 4, 1295.

137. “Et misit ad molendinum pro victu suo et famulorum staria III grani” (AAF, MAI 001, fol. 12r).

138. AAF, MAI 001, fols. 1–48.

139. AAF, MAI 001, fol. 51v. For example, Ser Paolo, the *cappellano* of the church of Capalle, sold fourteen *staia* of millet for five lire and twelve soldi on July 15, 1328.

140. AAF, MAI 001, fols. 51–52.

141. AAF, MAI 001, fols. 54r–59r.

142. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 606, *Giornale del Camarlingo* (1317–20), fols. 8r, 14v. A typical entry is the following: “Item dedi pro XVIII panibus eodem die—IIII soldi VI denari” (26r). See also 609, *Giornale del Camarlingo* (1324–26), fols. 1r, 9r, 8v, 30v, 54v.

143. Two friars usually served six-month terms in this capacity. They received salaries for their work (fifteen lire a month), and they kept a record of income (such as testamentary legacies for the walls) and expenses (such as the purchase of two books for the notary and *camarlinghi* for one lire, seven soldi) (ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 607, *Giornale del Camarlingo*, 1322–23, fols. 2r–22r).

144. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 681, Entrata e Uscita (1326–30), fol. 27r.

145. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 608, *Giornale del Camarlingo* (1321–23), fol. 33r; 681, Entrata e Uscita, fol. IV; 610, *Giornale di Camarlingho* (1330–33), fol. 6r. These payments were prorated for those who had served a fraction of the six-month period.

146. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 681, Entrata e Uscita (1326–30), fols. 9v, 15r–v.

147. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 681, Entrata a Uscita (1326–30), fols. 16r, 25v–26v. It is worth noting that the value of the lira relative to the florin remained stable between 1327 and 1328 (sixty-six soldi per florin; Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 429).

148. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, August 12, 1286; July 30, 1302. In the latter document, the bishop lists the patrons of the church: John the Baptist, Zenobius, and Reparata.

149. A member of the Nerli family in 1318 provided a legacy that served as the seed money for the major chapel (*cappella maggiore*) of the friary. It was Cardinal Napoleone Orsini who in 1306 made it possible for usury fines to be used to help build the church and convent of Santa Maria del Carmine (McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 100).

150. For selected primary sources for the period between 1294 and 1334, see Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore*, xxxiii–xlvi, 1–41; Villani.IX.9, 2:26; XI.193, 2:756. For secondary sources, see Cherubini, “La Firenze di Santa Maria del Fiore,” 32–34; Riccetti, “Il vescovo Francesco Monaldeschi,” esp. 214–17; Haines, “La grande impresa,” 22–27; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 5:250–52, 7:704; Schevill, *History of Florence*, 244; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, vol. 4 (“Zur Baugeschichte”). For communal subsidies from 1294, see Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore*, 2–6 (docs. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9). For the three thousand florins of usurious moneys specified in testaments (“de usuris rapinis et alias male acquisitis”) that the bishop can contribute to the cathedral, see p. 8 (doc. 12). For the 1296 document stipulating the two-soldi head tax and the requirement of testators to include a legacy to the Opera del Duomo, see p. 11 (doc. 16). Examples of such testaments include ASF, NA 950, fol. 91r (testament of Zancha del fu Manetto, parish of Brozzi), fol. 94r (testament of Manno del fu Megliore, parish of Peretola); 3794, fol. 70v (testament of Ridolfuccio di Lucchese da Moriano); 15797, fol. 71v (testament of Grifuccio del fu

Talduccio da Ronta). For the *gabelle* subsidies provided in 1297, 1300, 1301, and 1318, see Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiere*, 16–17, 19, 21, 23. In 1318 the bishop and cathedral chapter imposed a special subsidy on the clergy: “Et considerantes etiam quod in auxilium dicti operis, prout asseritur, est firmatum per dominum Episcopum et Capitulum Florentinum quod singulis annis per singulos plebatus et clericos suorum plebatuum Florentine diocesis, et priores et hospitalarios et abbates Florentine civitatis, certa pecunie quantitas persolvatur” (Guasti, 23–24, doc. 29). In 1319 33 percent of funds collected by the inquisitor was to go to the cathedral project: “Quod illa teria pars pecunie que nunc debetur aut imposterum debebitur comuni Florentie ex introitu officii vitii heresis perveniat et devolvatur, pro dicto opere ecclesie Beate Reparate” (p. 25, doc. 30). Riccetti argued that the bishop of Florence obligated the bishop of Fiesole to impose a subsidy on the latter’s clergy to finance the cathedral (Riccetti, “Il vescovo,” 217). I am not convinced such pressure was necessary.

151. Villani.IX.9, 2:26; XI.193, 2:756; Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 91; Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore*. For Santa Croce, see Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 5–7. For the use of the proceeds from the confiscations of convicted heretics for the building projects at Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:181. In 1231 Pope Gregory IX wanted all such proceeds to be used for the maintenance of town walls by all communes. In 1289 the commune used such income to build a portion of the wall on the left bank of the Arno (181).

152. Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 51–57; White, *Art and Architecture*, 334–43; Hunt, *Medieval Super-Companies*, 31–32.

153. For the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels in Santa Croce, see White, *Art and Architecture*, 334–40; Hueck, “Stifter und Patronatsrecht.”

154. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, April 15, 1285; Leoncini, “La pittura del trecento a Santa Maria Novella,” 84–86.

155. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, 127. Santa Maria Nuova had to sell property to pay its debts (ASF, Diplomatico, Manni, August 24, 1296).

156. ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, February 27, 1300; San Matteo in Arcetri, April 25, 1317; August 20, 1317.

157. ASF, NA 2356, fols. 10v, 98r.

158. ACF, *Quadernuccio*, fol. 5r; ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 310 (Lami, *Monumenta*, 2:296).

159. This conflict over grain went back at least five years earlier to 1270. In late 1270 representatives of the cathedral chapter of Florence argued before the bishop of Fiesole that the bishopric owed the chapter a certain quantity of grain. The bishop replied that he owed nothing, and so began a long controversy (AVF Ordinazioni VIII.A.1, fol. 60v).

160. ASF, Diplomatico, San Pier Maggiore, October 27, 1309; January 8, 1304.

161. ASL 597 and 633. Cambio di Giambene, parish of San Michele Visdomini, lent the funds to the prior Fede in 1260 (ASL 632). The judgments are in ASL 578 and 612.

162. ASL 691.

163. ASL 746.

164. These distributions were not large, but they were consistently the same: sixteen soldi, eight denari (ASL 1915<sup>1</sup>, fol. 31r).

165. For an example, see ASF, NA 9586 col. 14r (twenty soldi to be distributed to the poor according to the will of Presbyter Buonfigliuolo).

166. The classic treatment of this subject with regard to confraternities is Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, chap. 7 (“Charity and the Poor Before the Black Death,” esp. 252–79, which concerns charitable activities of Orsanmichele). A fundamental essay on the role of charity in Florence is Trexler’s “Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites,” in *Dependence* (see esp. 107, where he examines the role of confraternities, the commune, and the mendicants in urban charitable distributions).

167. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 176–78, 203, 258–79. Regarding the charity of Orsanmichele before 1329, in 1324–25 3.9 percent of the disbursements went to beggars, 94 percent to citywide recipients, and 2 percent went to institutions (256). Normally, the company distributed alms on several occasions a year to crowds of beggars that could number in the hundreds. The normal amount for an adult was three denari. Henderson estimates that as many as five-thousand separate alms were distributed per year (259–60). From 1330 the income of Orsanmichele never dipped below ten thousand lire a year (279).

168. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 278, citing Villani. Edited by Pinto in *Il libro del Biadialo*, Lenzi’s description of the events of 1329 captures the disorder, fear, and anxiety of the scenes in the Piazza of Orsanmichele (274–75).

169. See ASF, NA 15526, fol. 98v; Trexler, “Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites,” 107.

170. ASF, NA 15527, fols. 33v, 36v, nor, 118v, 131v, 145v, 160v, 168v, 170v, 181r, 182r.



171. He asked them to distribute three thousand lire to pay his debts and restitute ill-gotten gains (ASF, NA 3143, fol. 44r). For the probaton of the testament of Corso, see fols. 76r and 77r.

172. ASF, NA 3142, fol. 5; 3143, fol. 3r. The friars were required by the will of the testatrix to pay Gerónimo twenty lire a year for his necessities.

173. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, November 23, 1318; AAF, MAB 03, fol. 11v; ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, February 17, 1289.

174. Trexler, "The Bishop's Portion," 397; *Synodal Law*, 14–16, 24–25; and "Death and Testament," 31–62.

175. McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 136.

176. Thomson, *The Western Church*, 167; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 415; Swanson, *Church and Society*, 111; Heath, *Church and Realm*, 50. In 1246 Florentine authorities imposed a 192 lire and 10 soldi payment (Pisan currency) on a Visdomini and a Tosighi, perhaps because of their ties to the bishopric (the sum represented the tax of the cathedral chapter) (De Rosa, *Alle origini*, 88).

177. In 1253, the monastery of Luco paid 20 lire on the basis of its *estimo* of 2,000 lire. This estimate, or *stima*, was the figure on which the tax (as a percentage of the estimate) was based. In 1256 the estimate of the bishopric was 30,000 lire; the cathedral chapter slightly less; Mantignano in 1256 or 1258 was assessed at 2,500 (3,000 in 1261); San Lorenzo in 1260 was 4,500 lire; Coltibuono and Passignano were 15,000 lire, and the monastery of Luco, 2,000 (Barbadoro, *Le finanze*, 50, 54–60, 84–86; De Rosa, *Alle origini*, 76, 180–81; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 4:126). In 1254 the cathedral chapter paid some taxes to the commune (ACF, *Carle Stroziane* 226). In 1260 the monastery of Mantignano paid 30 lire on an estimate of 3,000 lire. For taxation of churches in the 1240s by the Ghibellines, see De Rosa, *Alle origini*, 89.

178. ACF, *Carle Stroziane* 226 (see Lami, *Monumenta*, 2:286).

179. ASL 633. On behalf of San Lorenzo, Cambio di Giambene (from whom the basilica borrowed) paid forty-five lire to Florentine officials charged to collect the *estimo* tax imposed on churches in the city and countryside ("ad recolligendum libram nuper impositam ecclesiis tarn civitatibus quam comitatus Florentie et districtus eius ad rationem soldi viginti pro quolibet centinario").

180. De Rosa, *Alle origini*, 181; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 4:126.

181. ASF, Diplomatico, Rosano, June 8, 1255. The monastery of Rosano paid 28 lire, 4 soldi, and 8 denari as its share to the four collectors, including Plebano, abbot of San Salvo. For a detailed chronology of events between 1255 and 1258, see Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 4:123–32.

182. ASL 632 (dated March 20, 1259, indiction 3); 633; ACF, Diplomatico, Rosano, June 22, 1261. The commune stipulated that the *estimo* of San Lorenzo was 4,500 lire ("pro extimatione librarum quattuor milium quingentarum in quibus ipsa ecclesia et basilica ipsius ecclesie sunt allibrata et extimata"). The document indicates that the commune levied the tax on churches in both city and countryside at the rate of twenty soldi for every hundred (Florentine officials came to San Lorenzo "ad recolligendum libram nuper impositam ecclesiis tarn civitatibus quam comitatus Florentie et districtus eius ad rationem soldi viginti pro quolibet centinario"). For the collections of the papal tenths between 1274 and 1305, see *Rationes decimarum*, vols. 1 and 2.

183. ASF, NA 11484, fol. 119v; ASF, Diplomatico, Rosano, June 22, 1261.

184. ASF, NA 20719, fol. 1v; AAF, MAB 13, fol. 18r; ASL 600; *Rationes decimarum*, 2:5–7; ASF, Diplomatico, Mercatanti, August 27, 1297; Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy*, 121. In 1279 Ambrogio, the *camerarius* of San Lorenzo, paid 53 lire for the chapter and 6 lire, 4 soldi for the prebend of the prior (ASL 564). For the payment by Santa Felicita, see ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Felicita, April 20, 1297.

185. Impruneta also owed twenty soldi to the notary who worked on the new *estimo*, and the commune also charged the *pieve* to help pay for troops at Radda and Buggiano (ASF, NA 2359, fol. 122r). For Quintole, see fol. 168v. There were three *estimi* levied on the parishes of Impruneta: 1307, 1319, and 1330 (Herlihy, "Santa Maria Impruneta," 258). For voluntary loans at Siena and Lucca, see Bowsky, *Finance*, 132, 219–24, 288–89, 341; Caferro, *Mercenary Companies*, 109–19; Meek, *Lucca*, 54, 72n. For voluntary loans in Florence, see Barbadoro, *Le finanze*, 494–505; Gherardi, *Le consulte*, 1:93; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 5:233–34. It is Christine Meek who first suggested that the superior strength of the Florentine economy—relative to that of other Tuscan communes—made deficit financing (borrowing) more feasible at Florence than at other communes (Meek, *Lucca*, 72n).

186. Prestwich, *Edward I*, 400, 406, 414–17; Swanson, *Church and Society*, 111; Heath, *Church and Realm*, 45–62; Thomson, *The Western Church*, 167; Barbadoro, *Le finanze*, 410. For the quote from *Clericis laicos*, see Duffy, *Saints and Sinners*, 121.

187. Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore*, 18, 24 (docs. 21 and 29); Villani IX.89, 2:176–77; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:468–69; Barbadoro, *Le finanze*, 411–15.

188. For the 1323 impost and clerical reaction, see Barbadoro, *Le finanze*, 412–14. In 1326, Duccio,



procurator of the entire clergy of the city and diocese of Florence ("procurator totius cleri civitatis et diocesis Florentinae"), stated that the imposition of *gabelle* had made it very difficult for the clergy to perform the divine services ("vexat in exactione gabellarum clericos et ecclesiasticas personas et bona eorum adeo quod vix tollerare possunt ... dubitent an propter predictas exactiones possint cum vera et pura conscientia et sine periculo palam atque manifeste celebrare divina sicut faciunt"). He therefore petitioned for relief (ASF, NA 8745, fol. 1r). For the *gabelle*, see La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 35, 39. For the 1328 subsidy, see Spilner, "Ut Civitas Amplie-tur," 169–73; ASF, NA 2356, fol. 106v; Villani, XI.110, 2:662, X.204, 2:388–89; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:704, 5:272; and 4:952, 1067, 1157, 1185–86; Trexler, "Death and Testament," 36, 55, "Diocesan Synods," 313–14, and *Synodal Law*, 29, 78; Barbadoro, *Le finanze*, 414–16; Becker, *Florence in Transition*, 76–77. Trexler hypothesizes that the *gabella* that concerned the clergy in 1326 was the *gabella dei contratti*, levied on all notarial documents (including testaments). On the basis of all the evidence, however, it is more reasonable to conclude that the secular clergy was concerned about all the *gabelle* it was paying, which included but was not limited to this indirect tax on contracts ("Death and Testament," 36, 55). According to Davidsohn, Villani was incorrect to say that the original 1328 impost amounted to 12,000 florins; it was in reality 10,000 (Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:1186).

189. ASV, *Collectoriae* 114, fol. 4r; Herlihy, "Direct and Indirect Taxation," 386–87. Davidsohn noted this deposit in his account of the events following the death of Antonio degli Orsi in 1321 or 1322, but he failed to grasp its full significance (*Storia di Firenze*, 4:845–46).

190. ASV, *Collectoriae* 114, fol. 4. In 1317 annual income was to increase to over 390,000 (Herlihy, "Direct and Indirect Taxation," 386–87). Once the papal officials ascertained in 1322 that the money had gone to the commune, they arranged for the money to be repaid over a period of time (ASV, *Collectoriae* 114, fol. 4r).

191. By converting the 5,000 florins (the bishop's donation) into lire (14,250 lire, based on the rate of fifty-seven soldi per florin in 1316, according to the table in Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 429), then dividing the 1316 annual income of 370,000 into 14,250, we arrive at a figure of 3.85 percent.

192. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 1074, dated March 1, 1288.

193. The bishop excommunicated and interdicted the archpriest, *prepositus, hospitalarius*, and *cappellanus* ("imposita facta per clerum Florentinum pro muñere nostre consecrationis et fratri Jacobi olim episcopi Florentini iuxta mandatum nostrum non solverunt") (ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 171).

194. ASF, *Diplomatico*, San Pier Maggiore, January 8, 1304. The tax drew immediate protests from the clergy. In 1292 the cathedral chapter and Bishop Mozzi apparently compromised on a number of issues, including the levy of this tax (which the chapter accepted). The bishop characterized the levy as a "moderate subsidy which the clergy of the city and diocese are required to pay to their bishops after they have first come from the papal curia to the Florentine church" (*sint et did valeant moderatum subsidium ad quod solum de iure prestandum in posterum clerici Florentine civitatis et diocesis suis episcopis quando prima de curia ad Florentinam ecclesiam veniunt ten-eantur*).

195. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:80–81.

196. ASF, NA 2289, fol. 21r. The prior of San Lorenzo (Ambrogio), a monk, and a rector were given the responsibility of collecting the 140 florins for the legate ("ad imponendam et distribuendam clericis exemptis et non exemptis Florentine civitatis et diocese dictam summam CXL florenorum aurorum solvendam domino legato"); fol. 21v).

197. ASF, *Diplomatico*, Mercatanti, June 6 1306. The reasons for the impost occurred, according to the cardinal legate, because of certain heavy and necessary expenses ("cum igitur negotiorum huiusmodi multa et diversa pro nostris et familie nostre necessariis incumbant onera expensarum").

198. ASL, *Entrata e Uscita*, fols. 31r–32v. The chapter paid one notary two lire, ten soldi to write an appeal to the papal cardinal (fol. 32v).

199. ASF, NA 20719, fols. 1v and 15r.

200. *Il libro del Biadaio*, 75–78, and "Coltura e produzione," 261–73; Abulafia, "Southern Italy," 385. The only other major Tuscan city that was not self-sufficient in grain was Pisa, which also had to import a substantial amount. Lucca was self-sufficient except during the period of its greatest population increase (Pinto, "Coltura," 269–71). Henry Bresc observed that in 1280 neither Liguria nor Florence was importing significant amounts of Sicilian wheat. However, by 1307/8, that had changed (*Une monde méditerranéen*, 1:536).

201. Pinto cites Villani's statistics that in 1280 the city required 800 *moggia* weekly; by 1338 it had grown to 140 *moggia* daily (980 weekly, or 3,920 *moggia* per month). Assuming that the population of the countryside was two and a half times the size of the city, we arrive at the figure of 9,800 *moggia* per month that was needed by the rural population. The total for both city and country per month in 1338

was therefore around 13,720 *moggia*. Since Florence could produce only enough grain for five months a year, it could produce only 68,600 *moggia* of its total annual requirements of 164, 640 *moggia*. When one takes into consideration the fact that church lords controlled at least a quarter of all property, one can reasonably conclude that at least 10 percent of all domestically grown grain (6,860 *moggia*) came from ecclesiastical estates. Grain production was concentrated precisely where church lords held most of their properties (the Sesto plain, the Valdarno west of the city, the Mugello, and the Pesa and Elsa valleys) (*Il libro del Biadaio*, 74–78). The 6,860 *moggia* include not only the wealthier lords, but also the sixty *pievi* and their subaltern churches.

202. ASF, NA 9498, fol. 42r. For other examples, see fol. 134v (rector and a friar designated executors); 17577, fol. 2r; 18783, fol. 2v. Some testators charged archpriests with the responsibility of making restitution for usurious gains, as did Giovannino Gianni da Camiano in 1313 (ASF, NA 18784, fol. 25r). One can find other examples in ASF, NA 3782, fols. 82r and 117v. Duane Osheim makes similar observations about the economic roles of the rural secular clergy in the diocese of Lucca (“The Country Parish in Late Medieval Lucca,” esp. 69–71).

203. ASF, NA 7870, fol. 13r–v. Other examples of local clergy serving as witnesses include ASF, NA 2359, fol. 23r and 2320, fols. iv, 4v. The last protocol contains two examples. In 1309 Olivero, the rector of Santa Maria di Pulica, was one of three witnesses at the sale of land involving two parishioners. A month later, another rector was a witness at the payment of a dowry.

204. ASF, NA 7870, fol. 13.

205. For the 1.5 *staia* rate, see ASF, NA 950, fol. 116r. In many instances, leases among laymen required about two *staia* of grain in rent for every *staioro* of land leased. In several cases, the local regular and secular clergy were leasing land for 1.5 *staia* per *staioro*. The best examples come from ASF, NA 950, which concerns Settimo. Non ecclesiastical leases tended to be higher: 2.5, 3, or even 4 *staia* for every *staioro*, as some examples indicate (fols. 158r, 166v). See fols. 134v, 146v for ecclesiastical leases, and 149r–v for a non ecclesiastical lease. Not all ecclesiastical lords, however, were charging lower rates. The archpriest of Brozzi, for example, was charging 2.75 *staia* for each *staioro* in 1310 (fol. 67v), perhaps because of high demand for the land.

206. See ASF, NA 950, fols. nov and 112r (in which rent payments were acknowledged). As we have seen, the monastery of Passignano kept careful records of its rental income, including the payment of past due rents [ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 11, (*Libro di Entrata, Uscita, 1297–1303*), fols. 2v, 4r].

207. There are a couple of examples of local ecclesiastical institutions’ extension of credit to local residents, including loans in 1312 and 1313 by the archpriest of Quarrata to residents of the Florentine suburbs (ASF, NA 18784, fols. 20r and 24r). See also 18783, fol. 40r.

208. ASF, NA 9498, fol. 99v. The rent had been nominal. The parish of San Michele di Ampinana had leased a parcel to a certain Dano di Ristoro, which was contiguous to his own holdings. The current rector believed the lease was contrary to the episcopal constitutions. Under threat of ecclesiastical sanction, the descendants of the leaseholder returned the land to the presbyter (“*nolentes tenere terram ecclesie pro modico affectu occupatam timentes deum et sanctum Michele offendere ...*”) (fol. 99 v).

209. ASF, NA 9498, fol. 51v. The parish of the *pieve* of San Giovanni Maggiore in the Mugello leased several different properties that were contiguous to the holdings of those leasing them (ASF, NA 15797, fols. 135r, 133r). For the 1327 lease, see ASF, NA 9499, fol. 133v.

210. ASF, NA 9499, fol. 133v.

211. *Rationes decimarum*, 2:48.

212. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 47 (fascio 1327–8), fols. 2v–27r; 46v, 47r.

213. The list of its endowment contains seventeen separate parcels, many of which bordered properties of the Ricasoli (ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 47, fascio, 1327–8, fols. 47r–48r).

214. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 47 (fascio, 1327–8), fol. 49r–v.

215. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 47 (fascio, 1327–8), fols. 47v–48r, 49v.

216. The entire case is presented in ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 47, fols. 2r–49v.

217. ACF, *Entrata e Uscita*, fols. 24r–27v and 20v–22v; ASL 1915 (1), fols. 58v, and 59r. For the heavy taxation of churches in the 1320s, see also Trexler, “Death and Testament,” 35.

218. For Santissima Annunziata, see ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 606, *Giornale del Camarlingo* (1317–20); 119, 608, *Giornale del Camarlingo* (1321–23); 119, 838, *Entrata e Uscita dal camarlingo* (1323–); 119, 609, *Giornale del Camarlingo* (1324–26); 119, 681 (1326–30), *Entrata e uscita dal camarlingo*, 119, 1270, *Repetorio di cartepcore*; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:76–77.

219. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 608, *Giornale del Camarlingo*, (1321–1323), fol. 14r; 119, 681, *Entrata e Uscita* (1326–33), fol. 28v.

220. "Item die IIII Junii pro sabato dicti mensis de sagrestia—XXXVIII<sup>s</sup>" (ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 606, *Giornale del Camarlingho*, 1317–20, fol. 1r). A typical testamentary legacy might be five florins, such as one bequest given by a *pinzochera* (fol. 1r). For the November 1329 sacristy figure, see ASF, Conventi soppressi, Santissima Annunziata 119, 681, *Entrata e Uscita* (1326–33), fol. 28v.
221. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 11, fols. 3v, 7r, 12r, 24r–25v.
222. For data regarding the nonpayment of rents in the 1320s, see the following episcopal lease books: AAF, MAII I 001 1, 2, 3, and 002, 1. Some members of the laity tried to help ecclesiastical institutions in trouble. A donor from the urban parish of San Miniato fra le Torri gave over two *staiora* of land in the parish of San Pietro di Quaracchi to help the abess and nuns of the convent of Santa Lucia di Quaracchi (*piviere* of Brozzi) (ASF, NA 950, fol. 9r).
223. Herlihy, "Santa Maria Impruneta," 264–65, 271–72; ASF, NA 2356, fols. 107v–108r.
224. ASF, NA 2355, fol. 28v.
225. ASF, NA 2356, fols. 98r–v, 107v–108r. The buyer in June was Vanni di Cenni da Montebuoni (parish of San Piero a Montebuoni), and the price was 170 lire. The property was contiguous to land owned by the buyer on the fourth side. In this and other sales, members of the Buondelmonti lineage acted as guarantors (*fideiussores*), who expressed their consent to the sales.
226. ASF, NA 2356, fols. 98v, 106–8r. The property sold in October included several parcels of land, homes, and gardens. The buyer, Fedello Rossi, was a Florentine (parish of San Pier Maggiore), and the property bought was contiguous to property he already owned. The price was 740 lire.
227. ASF, NA 2356, fol. 10v; 2357, fol. 13r. The properties of the *pieve* were to be used as collateral.
228. ASF, NA 2357, fol. 39r–v. The archpriest in his request (presumably) to the cathedral canons for permission for the loan and sales complained bitterly about the level of debt shouldered by the *pieve*.
229. ASF, NA 2359, fol. 106v.
230. ASF, NA 2358, fols. 69v and 143r; 2359, fols. 146v and 147r. The rector of Pozzolatice (also *piviere* of Impruneta) served as arbitrator in the dispute between the churches of Quintole and Montebuoni (fols. 146v, 147r).
231. On August 17, 1304, the vicar lifted the interdict: (ASF, NA 2289, fol. 23v).
232. ASF, NA 2289, fols. 20v, 21r, 30r. The episcopal vicar of Fiesole lifted Presbyter Jacopo's excommunication once he had paid (30r).
233. ASF, NA 2289, fol. 17r.
234. ASF, NA 2289, fol. 17r; 9569, fol. 9r.
235. Villani XI. 110, 2:662). For reference to the consultation by the clergy of Giovanni d'Andrea, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:321.
236. ASF, NA 2359, fols. 146v–147r.
237. For details, see [Chapter 1](#). The relevant sources are ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 48, *Protocollo* 1299–1308, fols. 1r, 14v, 84v–89v.
238. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 38, *Protocollo* 1316–24, fol. 6v.
239. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 38, *Protocollo* 1316–24, fols. 5v, 6v.
240. This case from 1323 and 1325 involved the controversy over half a house that Ser Coccho Boschi asserted was his, against the claims of Bilia, the widow of Arrighetto di Sinibaldo da Passignano, who had claimed she held the property from the abbey (ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 39, *Protocollo* 1323–27, fols. 39v–46r). For early evidence of conflict, see 38, *Protocollo* 1316–24, fols. 3r and 5r.
241. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 36, *Protocollo* di 1322–7, fol. 2r. The abbot claimed he also needed to defend himself from an adverse judgment made by Bartolo.
242. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 36, *Protocollo* di 1322–7, fols. 5–8.
243. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 36, *Protocollo* di 1322–7, fol. 11v.
244. Hunt, *The Medieval Super-Companies*, 159–64.
245. Duccio was procurator of the entire clergy of the city and diocese of Florence (*procurator totius cleri civitatis et diocesis Florentinae*). See ASF, NA 8745, fol. 1r. To see how hard-pressed San Pietro delle Ripa (*pieve* of San Pancrazio) was to pay its share of taxes, see fol. 136r. For the *gabbele*, see La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 35. For the 1326 appearance by Duccio, see also Trexler, "Death and Testament," 36.
246. ASF, NA 8745, fol. 1r. For the history of the *congregatio clericorum*, first allowed to exist by Bishop Antonio degli Orsi in 1311 but ended in 1327, see Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 294, and Peterson, "Conciliarism," 201–2. For similar issues in the early fifteenth century (fiscal pressures leading the clergy to push for collective resistance), see Peterson, "Florence's *Universitas cleri*," 187–96.

## Chapter 4

1. Lawrence, *The Friars*, 60–61; Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli*, 89–90, 122–24; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 190–98. The *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu* of Ubertino da Casale appeared in 1305, composed during the year (1304–5) when the author was living at La Verna, the site where Saint Francis received the stigmata (Douie, 124; La Roncière, *Tra Preghiera e Rivolta*, 170). Charles T. Davis has argued that Dante took the arguments of Ubertino and Pietro Olivi in a more radical direction (Davis, *Dante's Italy and Other Essays*, 29–32, 42–53; see also his article, “Dante, Machiavelli, and Rome”).

2. Villani XL163, 2:725. The phrase “respectable poor” comes from Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 36 and 149 (the *poveri vergognosi*, or the “shame-faced poor,” were “the respectable poor who were not accustomed to beg”). For a recent and stimulating exploration of the role of charity in fourteenth-century Italian piety, see Derbes and Sandona, “‘Ave charitate plena’: Variations on the Theme of Charity in the Arena Chapel.”

3. For a description and explanation of postmortem or commemorative masses, see Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 163–68. As Henderson observes, in *The Golden Legend* Jacopo da Voragine (d. 1298) observed that the living could help the souls in purgatory in four ways: charity, fasting, commemorative masses, and suffrages (prayers) (163).

4. Oakley, *The Western Church*, 80–81.

5. “Behind many spiritual practices lay the belief that man was simply a pilgrim on the earth, and that life’s essential purpose was to prepare for eternity” (Thomson, *The Western Church*, 205). James’s views on religion can be found in *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 491, 591.

6. Leonardi, “La spiritualité a Firenze,” 23–25.

7. For an exploration of popular piety in general, see Delaruelle, *La piété popu laire au moyen âge*. For Florence specifically, see La Roncière, “Aspects de la religiosité populaire” and “Dans la campagne.” See esp. “Aspects de la religiosité populaire,” 378–84.

8. For Le Goff’s quotes, see *The Birth of Purgatory*, 305, and “The Usurer and Purgatory,” 52.

9. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance*, 25–27, 160, 280. Cohn, however, recognized that “art commissions and efforts at individual and familial immortalization appear as early as the first years of the Trecento” (22).

10. See, for example, Davidsohn, *Storia*, 7:3–6; Burckhart, *Civilization of the Renaissance*, 2:444–46.

11. See Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, chap. 4, for a general survey of medieval religious belief.

12. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, chap. 2, esp. 10–38, 98–102; *HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, 839. The text of the statement of faith that emerged from the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 is in Geary, *Readings in Medieval History*, 2:105–30. For an overview of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century perspectives on the body and resurrection, see Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, esp. part 3. For Dante’s views, see 298–305.

13. McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 103, 236; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 35–38; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 1, 167; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 112–15; Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 1–14; Wilson, “Music, Art, and Devotion.”

14. There are many sources for the origins of the idea of purgatory. 1 Cor. 3:15 alludes to purgation from sin by fire; *The Passion of Perpetua* (early third century) describes the positive impact of prayers of the living for the dead; book 9 of Augustine’s *Confessions* also elaborates on the efficacy of prayers for the dead, specifically in relation to his mother, Monica (Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 1–14, 61–68). According to its principal historian, Jacques Le Goff, belief in the existence of purgatory was common in Europe by the middle of the twelfth century and ubiquitous by 1300. It became an official doctrine of the church at the Second Council of Lyon (1274). See Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 284–304, and “The Usurer and Purgatory,” 45; Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, 280–83. For a major study of testaments for a period later than that covered by this study (second half of the *trecento*), see Bonnano, Bonnano, and Pellegrini, “I legati ‘pro anima.’” For commemorative services in the confraternities, see Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 163.

15. For the quote of the phrase about the merchant, see Le Goff, “The Usurer and Purgatory,” 26. Regarding usury, the First (1131), Second (1149), Third (1179), and Fourth (1215) Lateran Councils, the Second Council of Lyon (1274), and the Council of Vienne (1311) condemned it. The Third Lateran (1179) allowed for the excommunication of open usurers, the interdiction of their offerings, and forbade the burial of unrepentant usurers in hallowed ground. The Council of Vienne extended excommunication to confessors who absolved unrepentant usurers (“The Usurer and Purgatory,” 28–30). For the references to Guillaume Durand’s *Commentarius* and to the usurer in exempla (such as

of some of Peter the Chanter), see “The Usurer and Purgatory,” 28–34. For an exploration of “the impact of the services required by the dead on the religious life of the living,” see Brown, *Popular Piety*, 3.

16. ASF, Diplomatico, Strozzi-uguccione, October 30, 1330. A missal contains all the necessary texts for the celebration of the mass, such as readings and prayers. Among the parts of the missal were the lectionary and the sacramentary. The missal emerged in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 118, 124).

17. Villani, X.24, 2:415.

18. Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 305–6, and “The Usurer and Purgatory,” 52.

19. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:3, 5.

20. Disagreement with Davidsohn’s negative assessment of the secular clergy was evident in the research findings of Charles de La Roncière, who argued, on the basis of his study on the Val d’Elsa that generally the priests of the Elsa Valley delivered good quality pastoral care to their parishioners (“Dans la campagne,” 299–300).

21. “Statuimus igitur ad ignorantiam detestandum, que a gloria suos possessores excludit, quod nullus decetero in sacerdotio debeat promoveri, ordinari qui in grammatica, psalmodie, et canone misse sufficienter non fuerit eruditus, nisi aliter virtutum meritis illustretur” (Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 234). Even Davidsohn recognized that these constitutions were noble efforts to promote good quality pastoral care. For a brief assessment of the constitution, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:18–19. For a revealing discussion about the education of the rural secular clergy, see La Roncière, “Dans la campagne,” 293.

22. For an analysis of the visits of the bishops of Fiesole (1275, 1296, 1310), see La Roncière, “Dans la campagne,” 297, and “Aspects,” 344–45. For his positive assessment of the moral behavior of clergy in the diocese of Fiesole before 1300, see “Dans la campagne,” 302–04.

23. This requirement extended back at least to the pontificate of Gregory IX (1227–41) (Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, 531).

24. AVF, Visite Pastorali, V.1, fols. 1–8, 12r, 31v.

25. La Roncière, “Dans la campagne,” 301–4.

26. ASF, NA 2354, fol. 94r.

27. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, October 20, 1276; La Roncière, “Dans la campagne,” 298–99. *Paramenta* were normally textiles other than vestments for use in divine services. They could be cloths for the altar, wall hangings, or carpets. The word could also mean more generally any materials used in divine services (*New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Paramenta,” at <http://www.ccel.org/s/schaff/encyc/encyco8/html/ii.vii.html>), accessed November 10, 2003).

28. “Statuimus ut in unaquaque ecclesia, si suppetunt facultates, habet sacerdos argenteum calicem et paramenta ... Et missa sine duabus tobaliis non dicatur, quarum saltern una superior sit benedicta” (Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 266). In the 1327 constitution, three altar cloths were required (*Synodal Law*, 55).

29. ASF, NA 1313, 13v; 15527, fol. 42r; Diplomatico, Santissima Annunziata, July 20, 1327. Normally, a well-equipped priest had five vestments for the mass, a ritual of sacrifice which constituted the “highest form of intercession for the needs of all Christians, living and dead” (Hamilton, *Religion in the Medieval West*, 45). They included the alb, the chasuble (oval poncho with no sleeves), the cope, the tunicle, and dalmatic. Abbots wore a miter. For the equipment generally needed for the Divine Office and the mass, see Hamilton, *Religion in the Medieval West*, 51–56.

30. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, October 20, 1276 (indiction 5); NA 7872, fols. 46v–47r; 4619, fol. 142v. An antiphony was a book that only contained music for the Divine Office (Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 161).

31. La Roncière, “Dans la campagne,” 299.

32. For wills and testaments, see Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*; Howell, “Fixing Movables” (Douai); Swanson, “Indulgences for Prayers for the Dead” (Lincoln); Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l’au-delà* (Provence); Cohn, *Death and Property* (Siena), *The Cult of Remembrance*; Waley, *Siena*, chap. 6; Epstein, *Genoa and Wills* (Genoa); Bonnanno, Bonnanno, and Pellegrino, “I legati ‘pro anima’” (Florence); La Roncière, “Dans la campagne,” 297–99, and “Aspects,” 377. For a critique of the use of testaments to understand categories of mentalities, see Bertram, “Renaissance Mentality.”

33. Epstein, *Genoa*, 130, 185–86. Between 1227 and 1253 the mendicants had a major impact in Genoa, drawing away many of the donations that would have gone (in their absence) to the secular clergy.

34. Trexler, “The Bishop’s Portion,” 406. As argued earlier (Chapter 3), this is an assertion that has yet to be tested by empirical case studies. Trexler makes the same point in “Death and Testament,” 35.

35. Waley, *Siena*, 147–50. On the basis of his study of a few examples, Waley suggests that in terms of legacies received, “the mendicants had by no means completely ousted the older orders” (148).

36. Davidsohn read all the testaments left by medieval Florentines, but he did not do a systematic study. He found them monotonous to read (*Storia di Firenze*, 7:704). For his overview of testaments, see 702–6.

37. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, February 17, 1289, and April 22, 1300.

38. Belacqua said to Dante, “I must wait here until the heavens wheel past / as many times as they passed me in my life, / for I delayed the good sighs till the last. / Prayer could help me, if a heart God’s love / has filled with Grace should offer it. All other / is worthless, for it is not heard above” (Dante, *Purgatorio*, Canto 4, lines 130–35, trans. Ciardi, 60–61). Ghisola’s testament is ASF, NA 2440, fols. 12v–13r. For information on Belacqua and a transcription of Ghisola’s testament, see Santorre DeBenedetti, “Documenti su Belacqua.”

39. ASF, NA 3143, fol. 59r.

40. ASF, NA 3782, fol. 262v; 2355, fol. 6r–v. See ASF, NA 3140, 75r–79r; 9586, fol. 63r. The 1282 testament is ASF, Diplomatico, Passignano, May 4, 1282. The elevation of the host actually began in the late twelfth century (Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 55).

41. Only half of the testators chose a burial site, but nine out of ten chose the local parish. For examples, see ASF, NA 12527, fols. 65v, 66r, 66v, 67r; 10733, fol. 41r; 3783, fol. 63r.

42. ASF, NA 9498, fols. 42r; fol. 134v (rector and a friar designated executors); 18784, fol. 25r.

43. ASF, NA 7870, fol. 13r–v; 2359, fol. 23r; 2320, fols. 1v, 4v; 12527, fols. 34v, 35r; La Roncière, “L’Influenza dei francescani,” in *Religion paysanne*, 27–103; Lawrence, *The Friars*, chap. 6.

44. Nelson, “The Usurer and the Merchant Prince,” 111; Trexler, “Death and Testament,” 34, 43, 50; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 209.

45. Trexler, “The Bishop’s Portion,” 397, 408, 417, 437.

46. ASF, NA 3143, fols. 59r, 81r; 3140, fols. 101r, 111r; ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 623, and 662; ASF, Diplomatico, Mercatanti, April 23, 1319; Santa Maria Novella, November 23, 1318; AAF, MAB 04, fol. 111r.

47. La Roncière, “Aspects,” 377n.

48. ASF, NA 15527, fol. 128r. Another example is instructive. In 1295 Bindo dei Visdomini, a member of a lineage with close connections to the bishopric, restored ten lire of ill-gotten gains (presumably embezzled) to the bishopric (“Item: voluit quod restituantur de bonis suis episcopatuui Florentie libras decern fp”) (ASF, Diplomatico, Acquistio Regio, September 4, 1295).

49. ASF, NA 3140, fols. 101r, 111r.

50. ASF, NA 17577, fol. 2r. It is unclear whether the usurious gains were those of the testator or his father. In another example, Giovannino Ianni acknowledged he took thirty lire through usury. He entrusted the archpriest of Castelfiorentino to restore the money to its original owners (“ideo nunc pro dictis usuris et rebus restituendis obligavit se ipsum suos heredes et bona omnia Ser Riccardo Butucci recipienti et stipulanti pro domino Ranuccio plebano plebis Castri Florentini cui commisit dictos denarios et res restituendis” ASF, NA 18784, fol. 250. For a final example of a testator’s reliance on a member of the secular clergy to restore ill-gotten gains, see ASF, NA 9586, fol. 55r.

51. For background on customs associated with death and funerals in Florence, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:707ff., Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 156ff., and the works by Sharon Strocchia listed in the bibliography (Strocchia’s work, however focuses on a later period). For general overviews, see Binski, *Medieval Death*, Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité*; and Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, 326.

52. Binski, *Medieval Death*, 8.

53. Cole, *Giotto*, 87.

54. Binski, *Medieval Death*, 1–27, 117–18; Paxton, *Christianizing Death*. For an analysis of Thomas Aquinas’s views on suffrages, see Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 274–78. For masses in the fifteenth century, see Strocchia, “Remembering the Family,” esp. 649–54.

55. Binski, *Medieval Death*, 52. For a description of Florentine funeral customs, see Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 156–68, which relies heavily on Davidsohn.

56. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 155–60, esp. 159–60.

57. Bowsky, “Populus Sancti Laurentii,” in *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, citing Cianfogni, *Memorie*, 168; Strocchia, “Death Rites,” 124.

58. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 161–62; Binski, *Medieval Death*, 32.

59. For extended discussions of both services, see Binski, *Medieval Death*, 52–54; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 164–67.

60. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, 203–5; Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, 89–90. Strocchia argues that the destruction of the cemetery of San Giovanni Evangelista “decentralized Florentine burial sites along parochial lines at an early date” (91).



61. Bosky, "Populus Sancti," in *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 161.
62. *Statuti della repubblica fiorentina*, 2:438.
63. Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 258–59.
64. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, 94; Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 14–15.
65. Brentano, "Burial Preferences," 406.
66. At Rieti, the first testamentary selection of a burial choice dates from 1297 (Brentano, *A New World*, 293).
67. ASF, NA 15527.
68. ASF, NA 15527, fols. 88r, 133r.
69. ASF, MSS 617.
70. Binski, *Medieval Death*, 71. Bishops first constructed canopied tombs for themselves in the early thirteenth century (p. 84), and after that date, the practice spread to the laity throughout Italy.
71. Brentano, "Burial Preferences," 406–10.
72. For Bardi patronage of the chapel, see Hueck, "Stifter und Patronatsrecht"; Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 51–57; White, *Art and Architecture*, 334–43; Hunt, *Medieval Super-Companies*, 31–32. Donato d'Arnolfo Peruzzi allocated two hundred lire in 1292 for the construction of Santa Croce ten years after his death. Citing Eve Borsook (*Giotto and the Peruzzi Chapel*), Hunt dates the Peruzzi Chapel at a later date, sometime between 1325 and 1328 (32).
73. Davidsohn reviews the history of monumental tombs in the city in *Storia di Firenze*, 7:720–27. There is an eleventh century Cadolingi tomb in the Badia. The sarcophagus of Bishop Ranieri (d. 1113) is in the Baptistery. The Ghibellines destroyed many Guelph tombs after 1260, including that of Aldobrandino Ottobuoni (d. 1257). At Santa Maria Novella there is a monument to a knight and a tomb for a former prior (d. 1279) from the thirteenth century. There are also tombs of two bishops of Fiesole (Corrado da Penna, d. 1312, and Tedice degli Aliotti, d. 1336). The Tosinighi had built a monument tomb for their kinsman, Friar Giovanni Catelani (1329) in Santa Maria Novella. And of course, Bishop Antonio degli Orsi (d. 1321) made provisions for his elaborate tomb in the cathedral, executed by Tino da Camaino (Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:846; Kreytenberg, "Le sculture trecentesche," 73).
74. ASF, NA 17563, fol. 57r. In 1278 (February 22), Lotto di Amideo of the parish of Santa Maria Novella left fifteen lire for his tomb in the cemetery of Santa Maria Novella (ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, February 22, 1277). In a codicil of 1292 (January 25), a resident of the parish of San Simone left thirty lire for his funeral and tomb (Santa Croce, January 24, 1291). A resident of San Pier Maggiore in 1295 left legacies to Santa Maria Novella, which included money for a proper funerary monument (Santa Maria Novella, July 18, 1295).
75. He also stipulated that the friars could use the bequest to furnish an altar. The total legacy to Santa Croce was two hundred Pisan lire, which also included fifty for a lectionary or missal and a hundred for the necessities of the friars (ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Croce, April 5, 1279). Priests used lectionaries for mass, and they contained only readings (Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 118).
76. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 242; AAF, Fondo Pergamene, no. 8.
77. ASL 777 (this is a codicil).
78. ASF, NA 4619, fol. 76r; 11388, fol. 62v; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:706, 8745, fols. 7–8; ASL 679.
79. ASF, NA 20719, fols. 17r–v, 58r; 15527, fol. 88r–v; 6169, fols. 132v–133r; ASF Conventi soppressi, Santa Maria Novella 102, 291 (Entrata and Uscita), 15r; Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, November 6, 1308; Toket, "Arnolfo di Cambio," 235–36, and "On Holy Ground," 548–52. According to Toket, around 1300 the architects stripped Reparata, Becket, Luke, and Mark of their altars in the new structure ("On Holy Ground," 552).
80. ASF, NA 8046, fol. 66v; 15527, fols. 33r–v, 62r.
81. For background on the chapels in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, see Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, esp. 7–10; Hueck, "Stifter und Patronatsrecht." For the Velluti, Baroncelli, Bardi, and Peruzzi Chapels, see Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict*, 51–58.
82. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance*, 1:151–62; Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance*, 21–22, 160.
83. ASF, NA 15688, fols. 1–2, 63r–65r; Diplomatico, Santissima Annunziata, October 9, 1329. Davidsohn discussed the testament of Ubaldino Manovelli in *Storia di Firenze*, 7:703, 705–6.
84. For a stimulating discussion about the connection between available wealth and the demand for art, which has influenced my own thinking in this chapter, see Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art*, esp. 1–81, esp. the section "Pictorial Forms," 76ff.
85. For early examples of the importance of painting, see the 1235 altarpiece at Pescia, completed by Bonaventura Berlinghieri. Images were extremely important in mendicant piety (Smart, *Dawn of Italian*



Painting, 6–7). In the Gondi Chapel (dedicated to Saint Luke) in Santa Maria Novella are paintings of the four evangelists, dating from around 1270, completed most likely by Byzantine artists (Leoncini, “La pittura del trecento,” 83).

86. Smart, *Dawn of Italian Painting*, 6; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 74–77.

87. Dante, *Inferno* 2, trans. Ciardi, lines 94–96, p. 37; see also McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 95; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 75–76.

88. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 76–78; Smart, *Dawn of Italian Painting*, 10–11, 14–15; Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto*, 73–78. For Duccio’s masterwork, see ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, April 15, 1285. Duccio was to receive 150 lire for his work.

89. ASF, NA 9586, fol. 63v; 15688, fols. 1–2; 11388, fol. 63r; 8745, fol. 82v; 3140, fols. 75r–79r; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:706; ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, September 21, 1323; Passignano, May 5, 1282.

90. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, June 15, 1312. The testator wanted the oil for the following reason: “pro tenenda continue illuminato lampada crucifixientis in eadem ecclesia Sancte Marie Novelle picti per egregium pictorem nomine Giottum Bondonis qui est de dicto populo Sancte Marie Novelle coram quo crucifixo est.”

91. ASF, NA 18784, fol. 52v.

92. ASF, Diplomatico, Passignano, May 5, 1282; NA 3140, fols. 75r–79r. In his survey of wills from six Italian cities, Samuel K. Cohn found that the first commission for a painted image dated from 1284 at Pisa, bequeathed by a Sicilian male (Cohn, *Cult of Remembrance*, 28). The 1282 bequest by a woman in this sample predates this Pisan example by two years. It is actually from the diocese of Siena.

93. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 1:425n. A certain Pietro Fastelli founded the abbey in 1109 in a suburb of Siena. It was under the jurisdiction of Passignano and Vallombrosa (425).

94. “Cui abbatie pro anima mea relinquo tres libras denarias in aiutorio operis picture passionis domini nostri Jesu Christi quod fieri facit domnus Griffolus monacus dicte abbatie” (ASF, Diplomatico, Passignano, May 5, 1282). Griffolo was also designated executor.

95. “Ad pingendum de pulcherima picta quandam tabulam magnam ordinatam fieri pro sotietate predicta” (ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, April 15, 1285).

96. ASF, NA 3140, fols. 75r–79r.

97. “In faciendo pingi in ecclesia Sancti Martini de Petroii plebatus Aconis ymaginem beate Marie virginis tenentis sub suo mantello suos devotos” (ASF, NA 3140, fols. 75r–79r).

98. “In faciendo pingi in ecclesia Sancti Jacobi castri de Acone hystoriam beati Jacobi libras sex” (ASF, NA 3140, fols. 75r–79r). Cohn, *Cult of Remembrance*, 249. Cohn found no narrative painting mentioned in any of the testaments of six cities he surveyed.

99. For the relationship between the visual arts and medieval female spirituality, see Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists and The Visual and the Visionary*, esp. 28.

100. Angela of Foligno, from “The Book of the Experience of the Truly Faithful,” in Petroff, *Medieval Women’s Visionary Literature*, 255, 259; *Angela of Foligno’s Memorial*, 25, 32; Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 334–444. Born in 1248, Angela married in 1270 and entered the Third Order of Saint Francis in 1290/91. She died in 1309 (*Angela of Foligno’s Memorial*, 1–10).

101. Citation and quote from Petroff, *Medieval Women’s Visionary Literature*, 237. Ubertino had first heard about her while he was in Paris (after 1289) (*Angela of Foligno’s Memorial*, 3; Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 341–42).

102. Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages*, 175–83.

103. Anne Clark graciously brought this episode to my attention. The text in question is Vito of Cortona, *Vita de b. Aemiliana seu Humiliana*. The relevant excerpt is the following: “Et socia concite cucurrit ad tabulam Dominae nostrae, ubi erat quidam capillus ejusdem dignissimae Dei Genitricis, et obtulit cardelas benedictas, quas accendit tenens in modum Crucis, et tabulam, in qua erat imago Dominae et Crucifixi, posuit super pectus eius. Candelis autem illuminabat earn, et incenso adolebat, et aquam benedictam adaspergebat super caput eius. Haec dum agerentur conversa est ad daemonem et imperavit ei, dicens: Recede a me inique statim, et non deinceps ausis me in aliquo infestare. Ad quod dictum diabolus convictus discussit confusus, et ipsa in omni tranquillitate quievit” (*Vito of Cortona, Vita*, 399; also quoted in Benvenuti Papi, “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 60).

104. Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, 62.

105. Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto*, 2; Janson, *History of Art*, 393.

106. I am indebted to Thomas Kuehn for having pointed out to me the pertinent reference in the *Liber Sextus* (e-mail correspondence, August 23, 2003). The citation is *Liber Sextus* III.12.cc.1045–48, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. For the rights of Florentine women to dispose of property and the constraints on their abilities to do so, see Cohn, *Cult of Remembrance*, 201, 286, and Kuehn, *Law, Family, and*

Women, 212–37, esp. 231. Whereas Cohn emphasizes male control of a woman's ability to dispose of her property, Kuehn stresses that male legal guardianship (which was required in Florence) was not absolute. It could be “short-circuited or switched-off” (231). For background on the *Liber Sextus*, see Brundage, *Law, Sex*, 419. For nondotal assets, see Kirschner, “Materials for a Gilded Cage.”

107. Strocchia, “Remembering the Family.”

108. The fundamental starting point for an understanding about the role of public ritual in Florentine life is the work of Richard Trexler, particularly his *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*. See esp. part 3. See also Trexler, “Ritual in Florence,” and “Ritual Behavior in Renaissance Florence: The Setting”; Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, and “Liturgy for Nonliturgists”; Benvenuti Papi, “*In castro poenitentiae*”; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*; Dameron, “Conflitto rituale.”

109. Toker, “On Holy Ground,” 552; Leonardi, “La spiritualité a Firenze,” 26.

110. For general background on liturgy, see Lynch, *The Medieval Church*, 363; Ware, “Medieval Chronology,” 217–20; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*; Fassler and Baltzer, eds., *Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*; Bowsky, “Liturgy for Nonliturgists.”

111. *HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, p. 787; *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 4:221; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 50. For the Divine Office, see Fassler and Baltzer, *Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, 557.

112. Reynolds, “Divine Office,” 221, 231; Hamilton, *Religion in the Medieval West*; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 16. Lila Collamore’s introductory essay on the Divine Office in *The Divine Office* is essential reading (“Prelude: Charting the Divine Office,” esp. 3–10).

113. Bowsky, “Liturgy for Nonliturgists.” There are seventy-six manuscripts connected with the cathedral before the Council of Trent, among which there are forty-two books related to music over four centuries (mid-twelfth century to 1526). For recent inventories of all the liturgical books of the cathedral, bibliographies, and an overview of the public liturgy of the city, see Tacconi, “I libri liturgici pre-Tridentini,” 440; “I libri corali pre-Tridentini,” 37–38; Fabbri and Tacconi, *I Libri del duomo di Firenze*, esp. the essay by Marica Tacconi (“Secundum consuetudinem”). The missal from the eleventh or twelfth century is in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. The twelfth-century antiphonary (Archivio Arcivescovile di Firenze) contains chants for the Divine Office and chants for feasts of principal saints (Zenobius, Vito, Miniato, Apollinare, Donato). The twelfth-century sacramentary dates from as early as 1125 (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana), and the necrology of Santa Reparata (thirteenth/fourteenth century) is in the Archivio dell’Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore (now published by Orlandi). The two written sources outlining the calendar of feast days and celebrations, dating from circa 1175–1205 and post-1228, respectively, are the *Ritus in ecclesia servandi*, BRF 3005 and the *Mores et consuetudines canonice Florentine* (Archivio dell’Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore 1.3.8). Domenico Moreni published this last text under the same title in 1794. The missal from the first half of the fourteenth century is in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, and it contains an illustration by Maestro Daddesco of a miracle by Saint Zenobius. The fourteenth-century Psalter (with chants and hymns) contains music associated with the saints whose relics lay in the cathedral (Saints Maria Maddalena, Niccolò da Bari, and Caterina) as well as others (Reparata, Zenobius, Eugenio). It is preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. For information on these volumes, see Tacconi, “Secundum consuetudinem,” 65–78, 174–216; “I libri liturgici”; Toker, “On Holy Ground,” 546. Sacramentaries were used for the mass, and they usually contained prayers (Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 118–19).

114. The liturgical texts of the cathedral are today located in four archives: the Archivio Arcivescovile, the Archivio dell’Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, the Biblioteca Riccardiana, and the Fondo Edili della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Tacconi, “Secundum consuetudinem,” in Fabbri and Tacconi, *I Libri del duomo di Firenze*).

115. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, 95–96; *HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, 1271; *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*, 517–21. For a definition and description of the meaning of octave, see Collamore, “Prelude,” in *The Divine Office*, 4; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 8. Feasts on the octave or within the octave usually “take the ‘festal’ form of Matins, with nine or twelve lessons and the *Te Deum* to mark their dignity” (Collamore, 4). The *Te Deum*, traditionally an Ambrosian hymn, was “sung in Matins and Sundays and major feasts and weekdays during Christmas and Paschal time” (Collamore, 6).

116. For a description of the liturgical calendar, see BRF 3005, *Rubricae Ecclesiae*. In 1302, in a document in which Bishop Lottieri issued a forty-day indulgence to all those who helped to complete the hospital of Santa Maria a Mercatale di San Casciano (*pieve* of Decimo in the Val di Pesa), the bishop listed the names of the holy patrons (*patronorum nostrorum*) of the city: the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Zenobius, and Saint Reparata (ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, July 30, 1302). On Florentine saints, see Brocchi, *Vite dei santi*; Benvenuti, “San Zanobi: Memoria episcopale.” One

liturgical text preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, dating from 1125, was definitely used locally in Florence. Florentine saints (Reparata, Zenobius, Eugenio) were included, but so were Fiesolean saints (the bishops Donato and Romolo) as well (Tacconi, "Secundum consuetudinem," 67). The relic associated with Saint Philip the Apostle, an arm sent to Florence from Palestine through the influence of the Florentine patriarch of Jerusalem, arrived in the city in 1205 (Tacconi, "Secundum consuetudinem," 187).

117. AAF MAB 05, fol. 4r-v; Toker, "On Holy Ground," 556.

118. BLF Pluteo 27.1 is beautifully illuminated; most likely for use on feast days. In it were *vitae* of Zenobius by the Pseudo-Simplician, Saint Donato the Scot (a bishop of Fiesole), and a *passio* of Saint Margaret. The script of the life of Zenobius seems to be thirteenth-century (138–41). Also in the Laurenziana is another beautifully illustrated volume of saints' lives (*vitae*) and passions (*passiones*), BLF Stroz. 2. The Biblioteca Riccardiana has a manuscript of *passiones* of Saint Minias as well as of many lesser saints (BRF 223). The fundamental works on Saint John in Florence are Benvenuti Papi, "San Zanobi," and Davidsohn. *Storia di Firenze*, esp. 1:498–503.

119. The following is based on Moreni, *Mores et consuetudines*.

120. Moreni, *Mores*, 7.

121. Moreni, *Mores*, 20–21; Toker, "On Holy Ground," 557. The *feria* was any day of the week, and it could include Sunday (Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 12). Presumably, these were feasts that followed the "ferial" format; that is to say, they followed a brief version of the specific liturgical hour with one nocturn and lessons (Collamore, "Prelude," 3–4).

122. For re-creation of those routes, see Toker, "On Holy Ground," 558.

123. For the role of the feast of Saint John in Renaissance Florence, see Trexler, *Public Life*, 240–63. Though focusing on the period after 1330, Trexler begins in the thirteenth century. Apparently, the relic of the arm of Saint Philip was still very popular in the later fourteenth century (353). For Philip, see Leoncini and Bicchi, "Il culto dei santi," 313.

124. For the procession for Saint Agatha, see Leoncini and Bicchi, "Il culto dei santi," 309–10. *Evangelia* are readings of the gospel (Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 24). Many of the saints venerated in the annual cycle were early Christian saints and martyrs, such as Saints Reparata, Minias, Agatha, and Zenobius. According to Moreni, the relics of Saint Agatha were at Santa Reparata (*Mores*, 43–45). Bishop Giovanni dei Mangiadori awarded the foot of Saint Agnes to Santa Maria del Carmine (McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 95).

125. "E da' Fiorentini e dal chericato fu ricevuto a grande onore e processione, andandogli in conteo il carroccio, e molti armeggiatori" (Villani.VIII.56, 1:499).

126. Dameron, "Conflitto rituale" and *Episcopal Power*, 149; Sanesi, *L'Antico ingresso dei vescovi fiorentini*; Wilson, "Music, Art, and Devotion," 22–23.

127. For the early history of mendicants as peacemakers and mediators, see Thompson, *Revival Preachers*. There are no documents about this specific episcopal procession before 1286 (Borghini, *Discorsi*, 2:350–51, confirmed by my own search). The 1286 account survives because a conflict erupted over where to celebrate the mass. We should not assume that because rituals like this existed elsewhere in the twelfth and earlier thirteenth century that the new bishops of Florence were conducting ritual entries before 1286.

128. ASF, Diplomatico, San Pier Maggiore, February 24, 1301.

129. ASF, Diplomatico, San Pier Maggiore, December 1, 1309.

130. Although it focuses on a later period than that covered by this book, a valuable resource for information on saints' cults in Florence is Trexler, *Public Life*. For an inventory of manuscripts associated with the cults of the saints of Florence and Fiesole, see Fabbri and Tacconi, *I Libri del duomo* (esp. Tacconi's essay, "Secundum consuetudinem"). For comprehensive bibliographies on Saints Reparata, Barnabas, and Zenobius, see Benvenuti Papi, "La memoria di San Zanobi," 110–12.

131. For the history of the cults of these saints, see the various essays by Benvenuti Papi listed in the bibliography.

132. AASS, October xi, 415–32; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 3:45–50c; For background and bibliography of primary and secondary sources, see Dameron, "The Cult of Saint Minias."

133. Benvenuti Papi, "La memoria di San Zanobi," 126; Trexler, *Ritual Life*, 2, 58, 77, citing Stefani, rubric 25; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:115–16, and 1:60–62. Davidsohn stated that the victory over the Goths of Radagasius happened on August 23, not October 8 (61). Reparata was supposedly a native of Cesarea in Palestine, who lived in the third century. For a bibliography, see Tacconi, "Secundum consuetudinem," 186.

134. For Saint Vincent, see *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, 1:255–56. For Saint Agatha, see Davidsohn, *Storia*, 1:1073–1.

135. For basic information on the cult of Zenobius see Benvenuti Papi, “La memoria di san Zanobi” and *Pastori di popolo*, 127–65; Trexler, *Public Life*, 1–2. For the *vita*e of Saint Zenobius, see Benvenuti Papi, *Pastori di popolo*, 127, or Wilson, “Music, Art, and Devotion,” 18n. A manuscript of Pseudo-Simplician’s life of Saint Zenobius (twelfth or thirteenth century) is in the Laurentian library in Florence (BLF, Pluteo 27, codice 1). For a bibliography of primary and secondary sources regarding Zenobius, see Tacconi, “Secundum consuetudinem,” 186–87.

136. For information about the cults of Crescenzius and Eugenius, see Tacconi, “Secundum consuetudinem,” 187; Benvenuti Papi, “La memoria di san Zanobi,” 115–16.

137. Villani II.24, 1:93; Nardi, “Un volgarizzamento quattrocentesco della vita di San Zanobi,” 145–46; Wilson, “Music, Art, and Devotion,” 17.

138. Benvenuti Papi, *Pastori di popolo*, 129.

139. “Diem festivitatis ipsius, a cunctis subditis nostris, precipimus sollempniter celebrari; mandantes clericis nostre iurisdictioni subiectis, quod parrochianos suos ad celebrandum festum huiusmodi moneant efficaciter et inducant; et fiat officium duplex” (Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 268). For background on the work of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi on liturgical planning of the cathedral and his plans for the cult of Zenobius, see Tacconi, “Secundum consuetudinem” and Wilson, “Music, Art, and Devotion,” 27–31.

140. Benvenuti Papi, *Pastori di popolo*, 129–131.

141. Benvenuti Papi, *Pastori di popolo*, 129–30; Trexler, *Public Life*, 2, 2n, 240–63; Chittolini, “Civic Religion and the Countryside,” 69–71. The source of the relics was apparently a Florentine merchant and his wife, living in Venice.

142. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, February 20, 1287; Santa Maria Novella, July 30, 1302.

143. Leonardi, “La spiritualité a Firenze,” 26. For a history of the cult of the Madonna at Impruneta, see *Impruneta: Una pieve, un paese*, esp. 43, 58–59, and 79–81.

144. Villani, VIII.155, 1:628; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 196–208; Leoncini, “I luoghi della devozione Mariana a Firenze,” 183–94. The image of the Madonna was usually covered in silk except on special occasions like feast days and Sundays. Between the late thirteenth century and 1347 there were three images: the late thirteenth-century version, which incurred fire damage in 1304, a 1308 version that replaced it, and another image in 1347 designed to resemble the original (Henderson, 207).

145. For the image by St. Luke, see Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:408.

146. Vito of Cortona, *Vita*, 384–407; Benvenuti Papi, “Una santa vedova,” in “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 59–98; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, vol. 2, 180–88.

147. Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages*, 171–83, esp. 178ff.; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 2:186; Benvenuti Papi, “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 62–88.

148. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, November 6, 1308.

149. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:242–43, and 6:393–94; Compagni, *Cronica*, 81.

150. Toker, “On Holy Ground,” 552.

151. La Roncière, writing about the local clergy, in “Aspects,” 359.

152. For the cults of these rural saints, see Benvenuti Papi, “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 263–303, and “Davanzanto”; La Roncière, “Aspects,” 347, 350, 356–61, and “Dans la campagne,” 310–11. For the texts of their *vita*e (saints’ lives), see “Aspects,” 347n, 359n.

153. ASF, NA 3140, fols. 75r–79r.

154. The basic starting point for discussion about preaching in the thirteenth century in general and Florence in particular is Mulchahey, “*First the Bow Is Bent in Study*.” See also Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*.

155. Moreni, *Mores*, 69; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:119–23.

156. Moreni, *Mores*, 69–70.

157. The text is in AAF MAII 001 3, fols. 131–32. Davidsohn claimed that no sermons of the bishops survived (*Firenze ai tempi di Dante*, 112). I am indebted to the late Salvatore Camporeale for having first brought to my attention the fact that this was probably a copy of a sermon of Bede.

158. Moreni, *Mores*; AAF, MAII 001 3, fols. 131–32.

159. Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, 832. Davidsohn alludes to this quote in *Storia di Firenze*, 7:121; see also 7:119–42; Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*. Among the most frequent themes of mendicant sermons was peacemaking. For a general discussion about preaching and the friars, see Lawrence, *The Friars*, 120–23; D’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*.

160. McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 182.

161. “Detto legato sermonato nobilmente e con grandi e molte belle autoritati, come alla materia si convenia, si come quegli ch’era savio e bello predicatore” (Villani. VIII.56, 1:499–500).

162. Villani, IX.69, 2:127–28.

163. McMahon, *Servants of Two Masters*, 100; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:369; Villani, IX.7 and IX.9, 2:21 and 26.

164. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 88–89. For a full description of the roles of music and sermons in confraternities, see 86–89.

165. Mulchahey, “*First the Bow Is Bent in Study*,” 444–45; Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa*, 29; Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale Fiorentino, 1305–1306*, vii–xiv; La Roncière, “Aspects,” 376n–377n. The principal study of Fra Giordano is Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa*. See also Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:128–42; and *Firenze ai tempi di Dante*, 130. For references on his views on heresy, see Delcorno, *Giordano*, 49–50. Many of his sermons are preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, and the Biblioteca Riccardiana. A collection of 115 sermons is in the BLF cod. Ashburnham 532. For an overview of surviving sermons of Florentine friars, see Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*, 141. Lesnick estimates that there are 700 surviving sermons of Giordano alone.

166. Lesnick, *Preaching*, 108; Mulchahey, “*First the Bow Is Bent in Study*,” 435–37.

167. Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye*, 6–7 (following Martines); D’Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 80; Mulchahey, “*First the Bow Is Bent in Study*,” 435–37; Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence*, 103–7. For Remigio, see *Dante’s Italy*, 198–223; D’Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 44, 150–53, 222. Sometime before 1303 he was in Paris preaching on the *Sentences*, and he seems to have been present at the papal court at Perugia in 1304 and 1305 (D’Avray, *Death*, 80). See also Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:125–28.

168. D’Avray, *Death and the Prince*, 1, 44, 179, 222; see also Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:602.

169. Mulchahey, “*First the Bow Is Bent in Study*,” 389–95. For a discussion of the nonclassicizing aspects of Florentine education during the life of Dante, see Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*, 194–228. Nevertheless, at Santa Maria Novella in 1301 the audience for Ptolemy of Lucca was probably literate in Latin (211).

170. The fundamental works on charity for the period of this study are Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, esp. chap. 7 (41–52, with extensive bibliographical references) and La Roncière, “*Pauvres et pauvreté*,” and “Aspects,” 369n, 376. For the information about Orsanmichele, see Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 53–54. In the late thirteenth and fourteenth century, Florentines defined “poverty” generically. The “poor” could refer either to homeless beggars or to the “professional” poor, the friars (the *pauperes Christi*). Charles de La Roncière’s important work on definitions of poverty is summarized by Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 245–52.

171. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 89. For preaching sponsored by the confraternities, see 86–89.

172. On this subject, see Trexler, “Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites,” 65.

173. For wheat prices, communal charitable donations (*elemosine*) of two thousand lire, and communal policies regarding grain in the early fourteenth century, see Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 242–46.

174. For the description of the operations of Orsanmichele, I rely on Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 241–96 (chap. 7).

175. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 241–56. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 241–56. Between October 1294 and January 1325, Orsanmichele gave alms to 1500 city residents (256), about 1 percent of the population of the city.

177. Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 273–74. Henderson (274) noted that in 1329 the commune allocated a third of the confiscated property of condemned criminals to Orsanmichele (with two-thirds going to the city).

178. Felice Tocco wrote, “Firenze tornò ad essere centro di agitazione ereticale” (*Studi Francescani*, 411). The standard history of the Spiritual Franciscans is now Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*.

179. “The brothers shall appropriate nothing to themselves, neither a place nor anything; but as pilgrims and strangers in the world, serving God in poverty and humility, they shall with confidence go seeking alms” (first rule, quoted in Lawrence, *The Friars*, 33).

180. For full discussion about ownership and property, see Lawrence, *The Friars*, 33–61; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, parts 1 and 2. For an interesting discussion about the pressures undermining apostolic poverty, see Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 12–16.

181. For a full account of the life and works of Olivi, see Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty and Olivi’s Peaceable Kingdom*. The shortest and best account of the *usus pauper* controversy is in Lawrence, *The Friars*, 60–62.

182. Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty*, 88–93.

183. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty*, 167; Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 62. This is the same Matthew of Acquasparta sent by Pope Boniface VIII to Florence to mediate the Black-White feud in

1300 (Burr, 8; Compagni, *Dino Compagnies Chronicle of Florence*, 24). Compagni claimed Matthew sided strongly with the Black Guelfs (the Donati), at the expense of the Whites (the Cerchi), true to the agenda of the pope.

184. Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty*, 106–7, 109–12.

185. For examples of these types of legacies before 1289, see ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, May 9, 1258, April 20, 1260, September 14, 1261, January 12, 1261, March 12, 1274, June 19, 1281, October 3, 1281; February 17, 1289; Santa Croce, April 5, 1279; Santissima Annunziata, March 10, 1282; ASL 539.

186. Petroff, *Medieval Women's Visionary Literature*, 237.

187. Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 162. These rebels had also unsuccessfully attempted to take over the convent at Colle Val d'Elsa (369n), also near Florence. For the persecution of Spirituals in 1312, see Angelo Clareno, *Epistole*, 104–5. For background on Angelo da Clareno (1250/55–1337), see Lydia van Auw's introduction to her edition of his letters (Angelo Clareno, *Angeli Clarenii Opera I. Epistole*). His real name was Pietro da Fossombrone, and he became a friar in 1270. A Franciscan zealot, he fled to Greece at the accession of Boniface VIII (xxi–xxiv). La Roncière has argued that the Spiritual revolt of 1312–14 had little impact in the countryside ("Dans la campagne," 310). Regarding at least one zone of the countryside, however, the region of Carmignano, this general statement seems incorrect.

188. Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 162; Angelo Clareno, *Epistle*, 117–18.

189. "... nunquam volumus sepulturas habere nec in episcopatu alicuius episcopi de cetero contra sua beneplacita intendimus ... testamentorum executiones numquam recipere, de restitutione usurarum vel [aliquorum male] ablatorum nullatenus [nos] intromittere, in iudiciis pro temporali re vel causa neminem convenire, de cetero pro talibus non litigare, quia predicta facere regule et professioni nostre repugnant et sunt nobis penitus taliter interdicta, quod contrarium facere est peccare mortaliter" (*Acta Aragonensia*, 2:662). For background, see Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty*, 215–18.

190. "Quod per nos actum et utique ad laudem Dei et dicte sancte matris ecclesie, ob cuius reverentiam et honorem Christi pauperibus et oppressis proteccionis opem impenderé et pietatis sinum disposuimus et disponimus aperire, erga predictos fratres in hoc hospitalitatis officium exercendo" (*Acta Aragonensia*, 3:267–68).

191. Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of Heresy of the Fraticelli*, 137–46; Burr, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty*, 97; Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty*, 223–30.



## Chapter 5

1. For examples of other communes claiming divine favor, see Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 438–39. For a recent assessment of modern and medieval notions of the “myth of Florence,” see Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye*, 1–6. For the connection between late thirteenth-century Florentine patriotism and poetry, see Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*, 174–76.

2. Benvenuti Papi, “Una santa vedova,” reprinted in “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 78–79; Villani XI.169, 2:732; Trexler, *Public Life*, 1–2; Cherubini, “La Firenze di Santa Maria del Fiore,” 32–33.

3. For a general overview of the relations between communes and the “church,” see Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 423–40; Chittolini, “Stati regionali e istituzioni ecclesiastiche.” Regarding Siena, both Bowsky and Waley emphasized the interdependence of religion and political life. See Bowsky, *A Medieval Commune*, chap. 7 (“The Civic Ideal”), and Waley, *Siena*, 127. Two historians who have charted the cults of saints to the development of the commune of Florence are Benvenuti Papi (“*In castro poenitentiae*”) and Trexler (*Public Life*). For the comparison of church-state relations in Europe and Italy in general, see Chittolini (“Stati regionali e istituzioni ecclesiastiche”). For general surveys of the rise of the regimes of the *popolo* in mid-thirteenth-century Italy, see Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 485–520; Waley, *The Italian City-Republics*; Vergottini, *Arti e popolo*.

4. Trexler, *The Spiritual Power*, 2–22; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 4:123–32; The years of those interdicts were 1252, 1256, 1258, 1262, 1273–80, 1304–09, 1323, 1328, and 1331.

5. The principal surveys of relations between the clergy and the commune and the subject of ecclesiastical liberty are Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 2:630–35; 3:393–98; vol. 5, esp. 267–75, and *Forschungen*, 4:123–32; Trexler, *Synodal Law*; De Rosa, *Alle origini* (until 1260); Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 423–40; Dameron, *Episcopal Power*. For communal legislation as it relates to relations with the church, see Gherardi, *Le consulte*. For ecclesiastical law, see the synodal constitutions of Fiesole (1306) and Florence (1310), published in Trexler, *Synodal Law*. For 1327 synodal constitution, see *I Capitoli*.

6. For the 1285 and 1290–91 controversies, see Gherardi, *Le consulte*, 1:17, 34, 93, 258, 284–92, 297–305, 307–15, 321–38, 391–92, 422; 2: 142, 221, 633; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:393–98; 5:270–75. On August 28, 1285, one of the items for discussion before communal magistrates was the following: “Item, super facto clericorum ficticiorum et commictentium malleficia et alia enormia delicta, volentium se defendere pretextu clericalis beneficii” (Gherardi, *Le consulte*, 1:284). For details on legislation regarding fictitious priests in the northern communes as a whole, see Jones, *The City-State*, 431; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:396n, 397, 397n; 5:271. For background on the magnates and their close association with ecclesiastical resources, see Dameron, “Revisiting the Italian Magnates.”

7. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:397; Gherardi, *Le consulte*, 1:297, 299; Salimbene, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, 515. What Davidsohn neglected to mention in his account of this conflict is that one recommendation of the commission was to boycott the Florentine clergy: “aliqui artifices non debeant eis aliquod servicium facere” (Gherardi, *Le consulte*, 1:299).

8. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze* 3:397; Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 26–29, and *The Spiritual Power*, 28ff. The communal authorities urged dialogue with the clergy. Corso Deodati advised the urban leaders, according to the minutes, to take a year to discuss the new statute with the clergy. He urged that this offer be sent to the clergy so that they could recommence their liturgical duties (“Corsus Deodati consuluit quod predicta fiant ... et durent per unum annum; et mittatur clericis ut dicant hodie officium”; Gherardi, *Le consulte*, 1:315).

9. “D. Bardus Angiolieri iudex consuluit, quod unus sapiens ambaxiator mictatur ad curiam domini Pape, ad notificandum sibi que fiunt per clericos et facta sunt contra Commune et homines Florentine” (Gherardi, *Le consulte*, 1:305); Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:397; Gherardi, *Le consulte*, 1:337. Among four propositions presented to his colleagues on October 8, 1285, the *podestà* insisted that the clergy needed to end their lawsuit and cancel the excommunication before any agreement could be reached (“Primo, super statuto faciendo de concordia non facienda cum clericis, nisi primo cassaverint sententiam et processum”; Gherardi, *Le consulte*, 1:311).

10. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:397–98; Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 26–29. My own view differs somewhat from that of Davidsohn. It seems to me that the chapter would not have acquiesced had the papacy not been pressuring it to do so. Trexler suggests that the chapter agreed to the terms of the statute after some objections were removed (*Synodal Law*, 29).

11. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 5:267–75, esp. 271; Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 28–29, and *Spiritual*



Power, 23, Gherardi, *Le consulte*, 1:392 (“Super Illor carceratis, qui dicuntur esse clerici, dati in scriptis per dominum Episcopum”). The names given were all supposedly dependents of the bishop (*fideles domini Episcopi*). The magistrates voted overwhelmingly (54–15) not to release the men, though the bishop had requested it (392).

12. For Reggio, see Salimbene, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, 508–18. For Pistoia, see *Storia di Pistoia II*, 121; Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*, 64–65, 200–201. The chronicler Marchionne di Coppo Stefani recorded that 1285 was a year when there was a critical shortage of grain (*Cronaca fiorentina*, rubric 168, 62).

13. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:589–91; 5:271–74; 7:93–95; 6:292–93. At the heart of the disputes in the 1320s were *gabelle* (La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 39).

14. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 5:272; 4:952, 1067, 1157, 1185–86; Villani, XI.110, 2:662; Trexler, “Diocesan Synods,” 313–14; Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 78; La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 39; ASF, NA 8745, fol. 1. For the *gabelle*, see La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 35) 39.

15. Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 1–25; “Diocesan Synods,” 295–300; “The Bishop’s Portion,” 397; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 5:273–74.

16. De Rosa, *Alle origini della repubblica fiorentina*, 205–6; Trexler, “Honor Among Thieves,” 21.

17. For a report regarding income and expenses of the commune over a two-month period, see ASF, NA 11484, fols. 131v–132r. For background on the service of churchmen to the commune, see Trexler, “Honor Among Thieves,” 20, 28–30; De Rosa, *Alle origini della repubblica fiorentina*, 206–7. Along with the Cistercians from Settimo and the Umiliati from Ognissanti, the Servites, Franciscans, and Silvestrines also served the commune as treasurers of the wall committees. They handled all funds associated with wall construction and were involved on a day-to-day basis in the actual construction (Spilner, “*Ut Civitas Amplietur*” 154–56).

18. *Statuti della repubblica fiorentina*, 1:98–99.

19. *Statuti*, 1:98, 1:146, 2:183; for rubrics against heretics and the Fraticelli, see *Statuti*, 2:183; Tocco, *Studi Francescani*, 496.

20. “Cum scandala, dissentiones et scismata inter cives et comitatinos et districtuales Florentie orta fuerint in antiquo et moderno tempore occasione florentini et fesulani episcopatus, cui prefuerunt et presunt florentini et alii circumstantes magnates” (*Statuti*, 1:273–74).

21. *Statuti*, 2:185.

22. The fundamental treatment of this subject, aside from Davidsohn’s work, is Trexler’s *Public Life*, esp. 33–39 (“The Clergy”), and 240–64 (“The Feast of St. John and Other Friends”). For a comparison of what follows with the experience of Venice, see Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, esp. 299–304.

23. Villani, VII.33, 1:319.

24. Benvenuti Papi, “*In castro poenitentiae*,” 76–88, esp. 83.

25. Villani VII.64, 1:358–59.

26. “In the Middle Ages dreams and visions often provided a seal of approval for human efforts” (Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 170).

27. Villani VII.91, 1:401–2.

28. Villani IX.11, 2:28.

29. For detailed information on the development of this cult, see Trexler, *Public Life*, 240–63; Benvenuti Papi, *Pastori di popolo*, 127ff, and “Da San Salvatore a Santa Maria del Fiore”; Casalini, “I luoghi della devozione Mariana”; Leoncini, “I luoghi della devozione Mariana.”

30. Villani VII.53, 1:346; Chittolini, “Civic Religion and the Countryside,” 69–75.

31. Villani VIII.89, 1:547–48.

32. Villani XI.27 and 54, 2:551, 581.

33. For detailed information on his cult, see the bibliography cited in Benvenuti Papi, “La memoria di San Zanobi,” 110n, and “Allora fu battaglia aspra e dura”; and Bowsky, *La chiesa di San Lorenzo*, 256–57, 271. According to *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*, Barnabas was called an apostle, though he was not among the twelve original ones. He was closely associated with the work of Saint Paul, and tradition holds that he founded the church in Cyprus. Acts 11:24 called him “a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of the faith” (Atwater, *Penguin Dictionary*, 58). According to the *Florentines* of Dante’s day, he preferred Florence to Arezzo among Tuscan cities.

34. Villani X.13, 2:222; Trexler, *Public Life*, 2, 22.

35. Trexler, *Public Life*, 58, claims that in 1311 “the commune of Florence went to great lengths to obtain relics of the apostle Barnabas.” However, the principal source, Villani, simply observes that the commune received them from the papal court (X.12, 13, 2: 221–22). It is significant that Villani chose to mention the arrival of the relics immediately after describing the famine. For political background, see

Schevill, *History of Florence*, 187–88.

36. Benvenuti Papi, *Pastori di popolo*, 127ff., “Da San Salvatore a Santa Maria del Fiore,” 259–88, and “La memoria di San Zanobi,” esp. 110–19; Trexler, *Public Life*, 2, 77; Wilson, “Music, Art, and Devotion.”

37. Villani XI.169, 2:732; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:115. Coinciding with the revival of the cult of Zenobius in the early *trecento* was the increased production of liturgical manuscripts (Tacconi, “Secundum consuetudinem,” 70–71).

38. Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 30–31; Wilson, “Music, Art, and Devotion,” 27.

39. See Stefani, *Cronaca fiorentina*, 62; Trexler, *Synodal Law*, 30–31; Villani X.12, 2:221; XI.119, 2:670–73; Cherubini, “La Firenze di Santa Maria del Fiore,” 32. For the reported miracles and the exhumation of the saint, see Villani XI.169, 2:732. For the curative miracles, see Villani XI.176, 2:742.

40. Anna Benvenuti Papi also pointed out that the exhumation of Zenobius helped rally the population around the bishopric during a period of tension between the prelate and the commune (“San Zanobi,” 79–115).

41. For individual churches, see Paatz and Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*; Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine*; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze* and *Forschungen*; Cocchi, *Le chiese di Firenze*. A more recent addition to the literature on Florentine churches is the new series *Alla riscoperta delle chiese di Firenze*, ed. Timothy Verdon (vol. 1, *Le chiese e la città*, 2002; vol. 2, *Santa Maria Novella*, 2003).

42. Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye*, and “Scénographie urbaine et identité civique.” See also Spilner, “Ut Civitas Amplietur.”

43. Trachtenberg, “Scénographie urbaine,” 11–14.

44. Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye*, and “Scénographie urbaine,” esp. 12 and the citations of the relevant literature in his notes. For the Baptistery and the cathedral, see 15–19.

45. For city planning, see Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye*; Spilner, “Ut Civitas Amplietur”; Sznura, *L'espansione urbana*.

46. Villani IX.3 and IX.9, 2:14, 26.

47. White, *Art and Architecture*, 30, 334–40, 413–6.

48. White, *Art and Architecture*, 334–40; Hartt, *Italian Renaissance Art*, 76.

49. Cocchi, *Le chiese di Firenze*, 221–60; Rubinstein, *The Palazzo Vecchio*, 49, 104.

50. Goldthwaite, *The Buildings of Renaissance Florence*, 4–7; Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 196–204. As Henderson noted, the commune embarked in 1336 to rebuild the loggia. By the middle of the century, the major changes had been completed.

51. For the early design of the new (post-1296) cathedral complex, see Toker, “Florence Cathedral” and “A Baptistery Below the Baptistery.” The papal emissary Cardinal Latino also consecrated the altar at San Lorenzo in October of 1278: “Cum igitur in Ecclesia S. Laurentii Florentini Altare ipsius Sancti ad honorem Dei, et eiusdem Martyris gloriosi quinto Kal. Novembris manibus nostris duxerimus dedicandum” (Lami, *Monumenta*, 3:1800). Even after 1296, however, the average Florentine continued to refer to her or his cathedral as Santa Reparata. Only in 1412 did the commune seek to require use of the name Santa Maria del Fiore (Cherubini, “La Firenze di Santa Maria del Fiore,” 32). For the plans of the structure, see Toker, “Arnolfo di Cambio”; White, *Art and Architecture*, 52. Villani observed that the name-changing and renovation occurred during a period of peace, following the expulsion of Giano della Bella (Villani IX.9, 2:26). For a collection of primary sources relevant to the construction of the cathedral, see Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore*, esp. 1–28. For secondary sources, see Haines, “La Grande impresa.”

52. Toker, “Arnolfo di Cambio,” 229–36; Chittolini, “Civic Religion,” 69–75, 79.

53. The proper term used in the sources is “office of the Inquisition” (*offitium Inquisitionis*, as one can find throughout the relevant notarial protocol, ASF, NA 15526). Regarding the misuse of the term “inquisition,” see Kelly, “Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy,” 439–40. “Inquisition” can apply to any number of ecclesiastical inquests; a heresy inquisition is only one of them.

54. Kelly, “Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy,” 439–41; Kieckhefer, “The Office of the Inquisition,” 36–39. The quote comes from Kelly, 439.

55. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:372–82, and “Un libro di entrate,” 348.

56. Davidsohn, “Un libro di entrate,” 346.

57. Kieckhefer, “The Office of the Inquisition,” 36–39; Kelly, “Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy,” 439–40.

58. For heresy in Florence during the time of Dante, see Manselli, “Per la storia dell’eresia catara,” 133; Tocco, *Quel che non c’è nella Divina Commedia o Dante e Veresia* (which also includes primary documents); Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:372–83; and 7:159–81; La Roncière, “Dans la campagne,”

310; Lansing, *Power and Purity*, esp. 76–77. There is also an account book of the Florentine office of the inquisition against heresy preserved in the Vatican and the record of an inquisition of a suspected heretic at Florence now preserved in Lucca (see Manselli, “Per la storia,” and Davidsohn, “Un libro di entrate”).

59. Gratian, *Decretum* II Cxxiv Qiii, ce. 27–31, from the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (Leipzig, 1881), 1:997–98, quoted and cited in Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 68.

60. For information about the Florentine Cathars in the first half of the thirteenth century, see Lansing, *Power and Purity*, 71–78.

61. For Giordano da Pisa on heresy, see La Roncière, “Aspects,” 365n. For quote, see Lansing, *Power and Purity*, 76.

62. Cathars believed in two competing gods: a god of light and a god of darkness. Those members who had succeeded in liberating their soul from the prison of their body through rigorous asceticism were known as *perfecti*, and they were able to partake of the sacrament of the *consolamentum* (a laying on of hands). For general accounts of Catharism, see Larner, *Italy*, 228–31; Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 11–27, and *The Origins of European Dissent*; Lansing, *Power and Purity*; Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, 125–27; Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*. One of the best contemporary mid-thirteenth-century accounts of Cathar beliefs is the description of them by Rainier Sacconi (circa 1254), published in English translation in Sacconi, in Peters, *Heresy and Authority*, 125–32.

63. Sacconi, in Peters, *Heresy and Authority*, 125.

64. For Cathar views on the resurrection of the body, see Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, 154–55, 215–16. Both the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the Second Council of Lyon (1274) required all heretics (including Cathars) to assent to the belief that humans rise with their bodies.

65. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:372–82; 7:174–81; *Statuti*, 351–52 (liber 4, rubric 62: “Quod pecunia que percipitur ex officio inquisitionis heretice pravitate convertatur in opera Sancte Crucis et Sancte Marie Novelle”). It appears that by 1287 the patrimony of Rovinosa was in the possession of the Minerbetti (379).

66. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:376–78.

67. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3:379. For Cecco, see 7:161, 174–77; 4:1075–80; “Un libro di entrate,” 347, 354. For Villani’s hostile attitude toward Cecco, see Villani XI.41, 2:570–71. For a more recent assessment, see Picchio Simonelli, “L’Inquisizione e Dante,” 143–44.

68. Raoul Manselli has published the document on Saraceno in the appendix of “Per la storia,” 134–38. For a summary of the interrogation, see 125–30. This thirteenth-century parchment is located in the Archivio Capitulare (Fondo Martini, Pergamene) in Lucca. In his *Storia di Firenze*, 7:162, Davidsohn discusses in detail another text associated with heresy from the end of the thirteenth century. It is a foliated volume that served as a procedural handbook for the inquisitors. Davidsohn identified it as BLF *Codice Laurenziana Santa Croce*, Pl. VII.

69. Larner, *Italy*, 232–33; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:163–70; Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies*, 54, 404–5, 409.

70. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:169.

71. AVF, Atti Civili XII.1, fol. 28r.

72. Villani IX.84, 2:169.

73. ASF, NA 15526, fol. 108r–v; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 7:171.

74. Dante, *Inferno*, canto 28, lines 53–57, trans. Pinsky, p. 297.

75. Waley, *Siena*, 147.

76. *Statuti della repubblica*, 2:183. The second rubric banned the Fraticelli from the territory of Florence. If discovered, they were to be taken before the heresy inquisition and punished (Tocco, *Studi Francescani*, 496).

77. I am adopting the term “dominion,” the word used by Andrea Zorzi (“‘Material Constitution’”), instead of the word “state,” to describe the territory over which Florence exercised or claimed jurisdiction before 1330. The reason is to avoid confusion with terms used to describe that territory in the early modern period (“territorial state,” “city-state,” and “modern state”). For the most recent overview of the development of the Florentine “dominion” from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries, see Zorzi, “‘Material Constitution,’” and “L’organizzazione del territorio.” An earlier version of my history of the role of ecclesiastical lords in the formation of the Florentine dominion appeared in “A World of Its Own”.

78. Chittolini, “Stati regionali e istituzioni ecclesiastiche,” esp. 170–73; Bizzocchi, “Church, Religion, and State,” 154–56.

79. For a carefully constructed synthesis on the relations between ecclesiastical economic activity

and urban authorities in Italy from the eleventh through thirteenth century, see Sergi, "Vescovi, monasteri, aristocrazia militare," 94–97.

80. For example, in his otherwise superb surveys of urban expansion, Andrea Zorzi says very little about any role played by ecclesiastical lords in that development. Roberto Bizzocchi has consistently emphasized the significance of the symbiotic connection between church and state, emphasizing that "the shared role of state and church in creating the modern state lay in local events" ("Church, Religion, and State," 156).

81. This is a perspective (at least with regard to Florence) that is at variance with the views of Cinzio Violante, expressed in "Primo contributo" (200).

82. The basic works on the rise of the early modern regional state in Italy (with particular emphasis on Florence) are *Florentine Tuscany*; Jones, *The Italian City-State*, 359–440; Cohn, *Creating the Florentine State*; Zorzi, "L'organizzazione del territorio"; and *The Origins of the State in Italy*. These studies focus on post-1348 developments. For a basic historiographical orientation to the problem of state formation in Italy, see Kirschner, "Introduction: The State Is Back In," in *The Origins of the State*; Dameron, "A World of Its Own." For a basic overview of the development of the Florentine dominion before the fourteenth century, see Zorzi, "L'organizzazione del territorio" and "Material Constitution"; and Dameron, "A World of Its Own." For the historiography on the development of the early modern Florentine state, see Connell, "Introduction," *Florentine Tuscany*; Zorzi, "Material Constitution,"; Cohn, *Creating the Florentine State* (esp. the introduction), Jones, *The Italian City-State*; Chittolini, "A Geography of the 'Contadi' "; Chittolini and Willoweit, *L'organizzazione del territorio*; Tabacco, *Egemonie sociali*; Herlihy, "Santa Maria Impruneta," 245–47; Fiumi, "Fioritura e decadenza."

83. Dameron, "A World of Its Own"; Chittolini, "The Italian City-State," 594–97; 1996, 419–24; Wickham, *Community and Clientele*, 207–8.

84. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 44. For relations between city and countryside at Lucca, see Wickham, *Community*; Osheim, *An Italian Lordship*, 70–78. For references regarding Siena and Arezzo, see Dameron, "A World of Its Own," note 3.

85. For the Lucchesia, see Wickham, *Community and Clientele*, 14, 17; Osheim, *An Italian Lordship*, 70–78. For Florence, see Zorzi, "L'organizzazione del territorio"; Wickham, *The Mountains and the City*, 353–54. For Siena and its *contado*, see Redon, *L'Espace d'une cité*, 91–135; Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune*, 189–259.

86. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 44–45; Cherubini, "Qualche considerazione sulle campagne," 78, 90–91, 108–11; Pinto, *Toscana medievale*; Osheim, *A Tuscan Monastery*, 317.

87. I am here following the chronology established by Zorzi in "Material Constitution," 11–12. His focus on the decisive importance of the thirteenth century, to my mind, is right on the mark. The only difference I have with his chronology is that I do not believe that Florentine control of the *contado* was fully complete by 1330, as he asserts. For my own view, taking the Mugello as a case study, see "A World of Its Own."

88. For a complete overview of these developments, see Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, chap. 3, esp. 136–40.

89. The terms used and the principal point made here are those of Zorzi, "Material Constitution," 7–9. Two other *borghi*, Prato and Colle (in the Val d'Elsa), were also in regions where the Florentine bishopric had held properties and jurisdictional power for centuries, that is, near Sesto and Capalle in the Valdarno, and Castelfiorentino in the Val d'Elsa. For the establishment of protectorates, see La Roncière, *Prix et salaires*, 644–645.

90. For a more complete treatment of what follows, see Dameron, "A World of Its Own."

91. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 45–48. For a local study that traces the development of urban landholding in the eastern Mugello (Sieve Valley) from the end of the thirteenth century, see Nelli, *Signoria ecclesiastica*. For background on Tuscan lordships like those of the Guidi and Ubaldini, see Wickham, "La signoria rurale in Toscana," 343–50.

92. For the purchase of chapter property by the commune in 1291, see ACF, *Carte Strozziiane* 80.

93. Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, 45, 168–73; Nelli, *Signoria ecclesiastica*, 7, 74–89.

94. See Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 48. In 1307 Vespignano chose Mercante del fu Cancelliero to apportion its contribution of the Florentine direct tax ("ad sortendum extimum nuper datum per communem Florentie inter plebatus et communia et populos comitatus Florentie"; ASF, NA 7870, fol. 9r). In 1309 patrons of a parish near Borgo San Lorenzo awarded the rector of San Simone the right to appoint their rector (fol. 96v). For the payment of the ten lire, see ASF, NA 7872, fols. 27v–28r.

95. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 48. ASF, NA 7870, fol. 78v; 8046, fol. 43r; Szabò, *Comuni e politica stradale*, 272.

96. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 48–56. For the Ghibelline presence in the Mugello, see Villani

XI.97, 2:641. For Uzzano and Rostolena, see Pirillo, "I beni comuni," 624–25. For immigration, see Nenci, "Ricerche sull'immigrazione," 148, 150.

97. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 48–49. Francesco, son of Giotto the painter of the parish of Santa Maria Novella of Florence ("Franciscus filius Giotti pictori populi Sancte Marie Novelle de Florentia"), served as procurator for his brother, Bondone, also a presbyter. As prior of Vespignano, he also leased mills and lands of the church and worked to complete the bell tower (ASF, NA 7872, fols. 48v, 49r, 99v, 100r). For details regarding Giotto's family and connections to the Mugello, see Schwarz and Theis, "Giotto's Father." I am very grateful to Professor Schwarz for having brought his work on Giotto and his family to my attention and for having shared with me copies of his transcriptions and relevant commentaries. Although Professor Schwarz believes there is no proof that Giotto came from the Mugello (67711), I still believe otherwise, based on circumstantial evidence. Giotto owned property at Vespignano, relatives continued to live there, and he relied on several local notaries to handle his business and finances (see, for example, 677).

98. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 46–47; Stefani, 62; Villani, VIII.88, 110, 116, 1:547, 576, 579; X.12, 80, 2:221, 285; XI.119, 2:670–71.

99. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 49–52. Also see Dameron, "Property and Clientage," 263–66, for ecclesiastical holdings in the Mugello before 1300; Piattoli, *Le carte della canonica della cattedrale di Firenze*, 29–33; Wickham, "La signoria rurale in Toscana," 346–48. For the development of church property in the *contado*, see Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, chaps. 1 and 2.

100. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 51–55; Piattoli, *Le carte della canonica della cattedrale di Firenze*, 47, 54, 56, 64, 109, 102, 141, 385, 111, 146, 182, 197, 231, 372, and ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 959.

101. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 52; ACF *Carte Stroziane* 14 and 451.

102. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 52. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 80. See Magna, "Gli Ubaldini," 55–58, for a discussion.

103. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 52; Zorzi, "L'organizzazione del territorio," 337–38.

104. Dameron, "A World of Its Own," 51–55. For example, see AAF, MAB 01, fols. 93r–103r.

105. Nelli, *Signoria ecclesiastica*, 108–10, 116–18; Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, 168–73.

106. For more detail regarding these pre-1250 accords between the bishopric and rural communes, see Dameron, *Episcopal Power*, esp. chap. 3.

107. Dameron, "A World of Its Own"; Zorzi, "L'organizzazione del territorio," 345; Barbieri, "Il Mugello," 300.

## Conclusion

1. Updike, "The Future of Faith," 91.

2. Updike, "The Future of Faith," 91.

3. Among the many recent books on Florence by nonhistorians are those by Michael Levey (*Florence: A Portrait*) and R. W. B. Lewis (*The City of Florence: Historical Sitings and Personal Vistas*).

4. *Inferno*, Canto 16, line 65, trans. Pinsky, p. 164.

5. Wickham, *Legge, pratiche*, 35–37, which only discusses the twelfth century.

6. In her recent book *The Bishop's Palace*, Maureen Miller argues that bishops played a constructive and integral role in the early communal development throughout Italy.

7. Richard Trexler had therefore been absolutely correct to stress the importance of heavy taxation on the church in the 1320s ("Death and Testament," 35).

8. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 1:143; Crosby, *The Measure of Reality*, xi; Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye*, ix–xiii; Conti, *La formazione della struttura agraria*; Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance*, 28, and *Creating the Florentine State*; Sobrino, *Jesus the Liberator*; Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*.

9. Le Goff, "The Usurer and Purgatory," 52; *The Birth of Purgatory*, 305.

10. Fenn, *The Persistence of Purgatory*, 1.

11. Fenn, *The Persistence of Purgatory*, 2–4, 7.

12. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 1:143. For Provence, see Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà*. For Max Weber's argument that Protestantism (specifically, its Calvinist incarnation) fostered a cultural environment conducive to capitalism, see *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

13. ASF, Diplomatico, Stroziane-Uguccione, October 30, 1330; NA 8745, fols. 97v–98r; 112r, 2359, fols. 186f.

## Appendix A

1. For background on the monetary system, see Bernocchi, *Le monete della Repubblica fiorentina*; Cipolla, “Studi di storia della moneta,” and *Money, Prices, and Civilization*, 23–50; Richard Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, 301–2, 315–16, 429–30; Luzzato, *An Economic History of Italy*, 127–28; De Roover, *The Rise and Fall of the Medici Bank*, 31–33; Molho, *Florentine Public Finances*, 5–6, 32–3. For a table that summarizes Bernocchi’s data defining the value of the florin in *soldi di piccioli* from 1252 to 1533, see Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, xv, 301–2, 429–30. In the late thirteenth century, Florentines issued *fiorini a suggello*, gold florins sealed in small leather bags (to prevent clipping). They first appeared in documents in 1299. After 1321 they ceased to maintain the full weight of seventy-two grains. They were abolished in 1471 (De Roover, 32).

2. La Roncière, *Florence, centre économique*, 1:26 and *Prix et salaires*, 30–32; Sznura, *L’espansione*, 159; Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, xv; Tognetti, *Da Figline a Firenze*, 13; Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen*, 55; Epstein, *An Island for Itself*, 270–71.

## Appendix C

1. Cianfogni, *Memorie*, 118.
2. The legate was Pietro, cardinal of San Giorgio (ASL 571).
3. Strozzi identifies Tribaldo as nephew or grandson (*nipote*) of the bishop, Giovanni dei Mangiadori, and the *pievano* of Padule (ACF Carte Stroziane 986).
4. ASL 656; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3: 190; Lami, *Monumenta*, 3: 1791.
5. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 1019.
6. ASL 279; Cianfogni, *Memorie*, 112–14; Lami, *Monumenta*, 3: 1796–97.
7. ASL 656; Cianfogni, *Memorie*, 117; ASL 652; Lami, *Monumenta*, 3: 1799–1800.
8. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Novella, July 5, 1283.
9. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 1017.
10. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 849; Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 4:140.
11. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 859.
12. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze*, 3: 610n; 4: 75–76.
13. Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 3: 285.
14. Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 3: 286.
15. Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 3: 286.
16. The *Inventario e spoglio delle Cartepecore originali* in the ACF identified ACF *Carte Stroziane* 845 as the document that recorded this appointment. The name is unclear.
17. ASF, NA 8743, fol. 115r.
18. ASL 680.
19. ASF, NA 8046, fols. 33r–40r.
20. ASF, Coventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 47 (fascio 1327–1328), fols. 1–50.
21. Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, 3: 284–86; and *Storia di Firenze*, 4: 123–25.

## Appendix D

1. The list of episcopal patronage rights is in the original 1323 *Bullettone*, AAF MAB 01, folios 5r–32r.
2. ASF, Diplomatico, Monticelli, April 24, 1297.
3. ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, July 22, 1306; Cestello, August 26, 1307.
4. ASF, NA 9499, fol. 79v.
5. The list is based on an 1188 papal bull in Enriques, *Le carte del monastero di Santa Maria in Firenze*.
6. AVF, Ordinazioni VIII.A.1.
7. Lami, *Monumenta*, 2: 975–977; ACF, *Carte Stroziane*, 171.
8. AAF, MAB 03, fol. 3r–v.
9. ASF, NA, 8743, fol. 12r–v.
10. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 474.



11. ASF, Diplomatico, Rinuccini, January 17, 1316.
12. ASF, NA 2354, fol. 140r.
13. ASF, NA 2354, fol. 33v.
14. ASF, Diplomatico, San Martino di Firenze, January 31, 1298; ASF, Diplomatico, Pinelli January 31, 1298.
15. AVF Vescovato II.B.6, fol. 43v.
16. ASF, NA 2354, fol. 44v.
17. ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, February 18, 1286; April 3, 1291.
18. ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, August 16, 1300.
19. ASF, NA 8743, fol. 28v; 8744, fols. 77v, 101v–102r.
20. ASF, NA 2354, fol. 8v.
21. The Buondelmonti also had patronage rights in San Miniato di Robbiano, San Piero in Bossolo, and Giogoli (Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates*, 67).
22. Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates*, 72.
23. ASF, Diplomatico, Manni, December 3, 1308.
24. ASF, NA 8743, fol. 28v.
25. ASF, NA 4111, fol. 157r.
26. ASF, Diplomatico, Archivio Generale, March 2, 1298; Riformagioni, December 6, 1301. On December 6, 1301, the Visdomini elected one of their own, Taccia dei Visdomini.
27. ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, September 25, 1303.
28. ASF, Diplomatico, Sant'Appollonia, February 16, 1264; ASF Diplomatico, Sant'Appollonia, November 20, 1303.
29. ASF, Diplomatico, Peruzzi, August 31, 1314; March 28–30 1314.
30. ASF, Diplomatico, Olivetani, June 2, 1335.
31. ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, October 10, 1320.
32. ASF, Conventi soppressi Passignano 179, 36 (Protocolli, 1277–89), fol. 30r.
33. ASF, Diplomatico, Fontani, January, 1255.
34. ASF, Diplomatico, Luco August 28, 1283.
35. ASF, Diplomatico, Luco January 23, 1274; November 8, 1303; ASF, Diplomatico, Luco November 14, 1299.
36. Effectively, the Buondelmonti exercised patronage rights.
37. ASF, Diplomatico, Settimo June 28, 1266; February 3, 1291; Cestello June 28, 1266.
38. ASF, NA 2354, fol. 140r.
39. ASF, NA 9495, fol. 44.
40. ASF, Diplomatico, Luco, May 11, 1319.
41. ASF, Diplomatico, Olivetani, January 28, 1335.
42. ASF, Diplomatico, Olivetani, March 20, 1313.
43. ASF, Diplomatico, Luco, May 1, 1319.
44. ASF, Diplomatico, Sant'Appollonia, July 1, 1324.
45. ASF, NA 2354, fol. 73v.
46. ASF, NA 11118, fols. 52r–64r.
47. ASF, NA 2354, fol. 57v.
48. AVF Vescovato II.B.6, fol. 43v.
49. ASF, NA 2354, fol. 98r.
50. ASF, Diplomatico, Archivio Generale, March 19, 1293.
51. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria del Bigallo, September 15, 1307.
52. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria di Bigallo, September 15, 1307.
53. ASF, NA 3782, fol. 238v.
54. In 1294 the commune consigned the hospital to be alternated between the major guilds. See Davidsohn, *Storia*, 7: 93–95.
55. ASF, NA 9494, fol. 11r.
56. ASF, NA 9497, fol. 58r–v.
57. ASF, Diplomatico, Marchi, October 2, 1295.
58. ASF, Conventi soppressi 179, 36 (Protocollo di 1277–89), fols. 37v–38v.
59. ACF *Carte Stroziane* 171.
60. ASF, NA 8745, fol. 2v. The notary recorded the existence of a conflict over the patronage rights to the church.
61. ASF, Diplomatico, Rinuccini, April 12, 1298; April 18, 1298; February 25, 1321; March 5, 1321; January 7, 1323.



62. ASF, Diplomatico, Luco, November 14, 1299.
63. ASF, Diplomatico, Santa Maria Nuova, June 6, 1329.
64. ASF, Diplomatico, Archivio Generale, March 2, 1298.
65. ASF, Diplomatico, Deposito Peruzzi, March 28–30, 1314; ASF, Diplomatico, Peruzzi, August 31, 1314.
66. ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, September 23, 1295; Certosa, April 30, 1297; Certosa, August 10, 1299; Certosa, August 22, 1299; August 24, 1299; San Francesco di Firenze, August 24, 1299; Certosa, August 25, 1299; Certosa, July 22, 1306; Certosa, August 26, 1307.
67. ASF, NA 2354, fols. 81v–82r.
68. ASF, Diplomatico, Cestello, June 28, 1266.
69. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 855.
70. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 859.
71. ACF, *Carte Stroziane* 79, 100, 246.
72. ASF, NA 2354, fols. 56r–v and 57r.
73. ASF, NA 9495, fols. 40, 45v, 46r.
74. ASF, Conventi soppressi, Passignano 179, 48 (Protocollo 1299–1308), fols. 89v–90r; Diplomatico, February 6, 1318; November 5, 1317.
75. ASF, NA 8743, fol. 12; ACF *Carte Stroziane* 622.
76. ASF, NA 2357, fol. 55r.
77. ASF Conventi soppressi Passignano 179, 47 (Fascio, 1327–8), fols. 26v, 27r, 45r. The rectorship was back in the *collatio* of the abbey however by 1330 (ASF Diplomatico, *Spoglio di cartapecore*, vol. 134, fol. 306r).

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# Index

- Abbadighi, Alcampo, 93, 211. *See also* Broy, Stefano de; *papal tenth*
- Abbati, 86, 104; Jacopo degli, 59, 76
- Acciaiuoli, 80–81, 104, 111, 284 n.10, 286 n.42; Agnolo, bishop, 88, 106; company of, 144, 161. *See also* banking; San Niccolò (San Romolo) di Quercio
- Acquasparta, Matteo di, 63, 75, 101, 142, 214, 321 n.183. *See also* mendicants; Olivi, Pietro; Spiritual Franciscans
- Adimari, 80, 97, 104, 199, 208, 284 n.13, 289 n.70; Ildebrandino di Lottieri di Uberto degli, 86, 289 n.70. *See also* Della Tosa; magnates; San Lorenzo
- Agatha, Saint, 196, 199, 201, 207
- Agnes, Saint, 47, 317 n.124
- Albizzi, 144
- Alexander IV, Pope, 46
- Aliotti, 68; Tedice dei, 161. *See also* Della Tosa; Visdomini
- altar offerings. *See* oblations
- altars, 186, 197–207, 226, 229, 313 n.79. *See also* individual names of saints; paintings; saints, cults of; Santa Maria del Fiore
- Altopascio, battle of, 17
- Anchioni, Durante dei, 185; Gano dei, 119, 295 n.54. *See also* San Lorenzo
- Andrea da Cerreto, 120, 135. *See also* Santa Maria Maggiore
- Angela of Foligno, 192, 215. *See also* images; Ubertino da Casale
- Angelo da Clareno, 215–16, 321 n.187. *See also* Spiritual Franciscans
- Angevin monarchy, 15, 89, 93; alliance with Florence, 4, 15, 110–11, 185; loss of Sicily (Sicilian Vespers), 16. *See also* Charles I of Anjou; Louis IX, Saint; Louis of Toulouse, Saint
- anticlericalism, in Florentine legislation, 218–24. *See also* Davidsohn, Robert, on Florentine church
- antiphonary, definition of, 310 n.30. *See also* Divine Office; liturgy
- Appenines, 15, 29, 57. *See also* Mugello
- Aquinas, Thomas, 170, 210
- archpriest, 40–42; definition of, 35. *See also* Nero, Bene di; Santa Maria Impruneta, conflict over office of archpriest
- Ardingo, Bishop, 206
- Arezzo, 4, 16, 29, 35, 50, 85, 109, 154, 215, 237; control of *contado*, 234
- Arnolfo di Cambio, 21–22, 100, 141, 227–28, 240. *See also* Santa Croce; Santa Maria del Fiore
- art. *See* Bigallo, Madonna della Misericordia fresco; Daddi, Bernardo;

Duccio, *Rucellai Madonna*; Gaddi, Taddeo; images; Marcovaldo, Coppo di; paintings; votive images; women, religious images and Augustinian Friars Hermits. *See* Austin Friars; Santo Spirito Augustinian Rule. *See* Austin Friars; Rule of Saint Augustine Austin Friars, 20, 263. *See also* mendicants; San Matteo di Arcetri; Santo Spirito

Badia, 76, 114, 150, 227, 263. *See also* regular clergy

banking, 2–3, 15, 109–11, 162; ties of Florentines to papacy, 75. *See also* Acciaiuoli; Bardi; Frescobaldi; Mozzi; papacy, relations with Florentine families

Baptistery, 19, 40–41, 54, 196, 224, 227, 240; archpriest, 61; mosaics, 273 n.61. *See also* John the Baptist, Saint; Pisano, Andrea

Bardi, 27, 80, 91, 98, 104, 106, 160, 227, 284 n.10; banking ties to papacy, 63, 110; Bartolo dei, 79; Chapel, 22, 143, 187, 228, 264; company of, 63; connections with England, 110, 292 n.21; Federico dei, 27–28, 61, 66, 76, 79, 88, 91–92, 103, 143, 160, 255; Jacopo dei, 79; Ridolfo dei, 143, 187; ties to Charles I of Anjou, 111. *See also* banking; Santa Croce

Bargello, 227

Barnabas (Barnaba), Saint, 138, 224–25, 324 nn.33, 35. *See also* Campaldino; San Barnaba

Baroncelli and chapel, 185, 187, 227

Becker, Marvin, 11, 244. *See also* fourteenth century, historiography on Belacqua, 176. *See also* *Purgatorio*

Benedetto di Maestro (Messer) Martino, 69, 102. *See also* notaries

Benvenuti, Chele, 63, 71. *See also* Mozzi, Andrea; San Giovanni Evangelista (hospital)

Benvenuti Papi, Anna, 36–37, 49, 299 n.114. *See also* Florence, female religious communities in; nuns/nunneries; *pinzochere*

Bergamo, 219

Bigallo, Madonna della Misericordia fresco, 24

Bindo di Romeo da Calenzano, 69, 102, 107, 139–40, 208, 281 n.172, 277–78 n.120

Binsky, Paul, 185

bishops: duties of, 66–68, 281 n.167; rural versus urban holdings, 293 n.28, 294 n.38

bishops of Florence, 64–70, 159, 223; consecration and installation of, 63; consecration tax on clergy for new bishops, 63, 99, 147, 153, 304 n.194; court of, 39, 70–72, 74, 90, 253, 282 n.179; development of urban possessions, 116–18; elections and cathedral canons, 62, 97–104; household, 69, 138–39; lands and holdings, 115–18, 234–39; list of, 66; monasteries, relations with, 43; notaries, 252–53; papacy, relations with, 66–70, 74–77; residences of, 64–66; responsibilities of, 66–69; ritual entry into city, 98–99, 263; role in usury restitutions, 67–68, 177–79; shops of,

116–18; vacancies between, 68, 98, 103, 263. *See also* Cafaggio; Della Tosa; patronage rights (ecclesiastical), bishopric; San Miniato al Monte; San Pier Maggiore, ritual marriage of abbess with bishop; secular clergy; Visdomini

Black Guelfs, 16, 63, 77, 101, 210; conflict with Whites, 16, 64, 160, 205. *See also* Donati, Corso; Guelfs; White Guelfs

Boccaccio, 208

Bologna, 215, 217, 219

Boniface VIII, Pope, 16, 46, 66, 99, 100, 150, 225

Borgo San Lorenzo, 43, 69, 116–17, 235–36, 238. *See also* Mugello; rural communes

Bornstein, Daniel, 267 n.27

Bowsky, William, 60, 90, 295 n.51, 322 n.3; on burial fees, 298 n.106. *See also* San Lorenzo

Brescia, 217

Broy, Stefano de, 17, 19, 22, 40, 61, 77, 100, 131, 168, 211, 244, 246; as benefactor of Santa Maria della Scala, 57; career of, 93–96; as papal appointee to *pieve* of Campoli, 74, 263; as papal judge delegate, 95; as papal legate, 156–57; as procurator of Ruggero dei Buondelmonti, 44; as property owner, 138; as recipient of papal provision in cathedral chapter, 94, 99, 254, 263; as vicar of bishop of Fiesole, 43, 95, 171, 175; as vicar of bishop of Florence, 95. *See also* cathedral chapter; Santo Stefano di Campoli (*pieve*)

Brucker, Gene, 273 n.58

Brunelleschi, Betto dei, 64, 132; Filippo, 22, 240

Buondelmonti, 27–28, 76, 80, 86, 88–89, 93, 106; in cathedral chapter, 96; patronage rights of, 285 n.28; Ruggero dei, 44, 93, 95, 246. *See also* magnates; Santa Maria Impruneta

Burckhardt, Jacob, 5, 132, 187, 244–45

burial, 30, 38; cemeteries during Carolingian period, 181; choices, 182–84; duties of priest, 30; income or fees from, 38, 60, 132, 282 n.179, 298 n.106; practices, 179–82; restrictions on usurers, 271 n.16; rights, 50, 60, 64, 71, 273 n.59. *See also* mortuary income

Busilli, Étienne de (da Broy, kingdom of France). *See* Broy, Stefano de

Cafaggio (Florence), 21, 47, 98, 116–17, 263. *See also* bishops, lands and holdings

Calimala guild, 153, 203

Camaldoli, 43, 94

*camerarius*, treasurer, 58, 60, 69

Campaldino, battle of (1289), 16, 80, 225

campanile (bell-tower), 23, 227

Campoli. *See* Broy, Stefano de; Santo Stefano di Campoli (*pieve*)

Camporeale, Salvatore, 319 n.157



canon law, 67, 283 n.185. *See also* bishops of Florence, court of; Kuehn, Thomas; papacy, court of; patronage rights (ecclesiastical)

Capalle, 131, 139, 235. *See also* San Martino di Sesto

Caponsacchi, 236, 246; Illuminato dei, 104, 146, 169. *See also* mendicants; Santa Croce

*cappella*. *See* *ecclesia*

*cappellani*. *See* chaplains

captain of the people (*capitano del popolo*), 14–15, 222–23

Carmelites, 21, 46–47, 121, 189, 214; origins, 274 n.77. *See also* mendicants; Santa Maria del Carmine

Carmignano, 215–16, 236, 274 n.64

Castelfiorentino, 31, 43, 69, 116–17, 206, 235, 293 n.34; notary, 253. *See also* Val d'Elsa; Verdiana

castellans, 18

*castelli*, 116

castles. *See* *castelli*

Castracane, Castruccio, 3, 17, 150–51

Catarina, Saint. *See* Catherine, Saint

Catasto of 1427, 114

cathars, 210, 230–33; basic beliefs of, 326 nn.62, 64. *See also* heresy; inquisition, against heresy; Sacconi, Rainer

cathedral (Florence), 184, 196, 227. *See also* Arnolfo di Cambio; cathedral chapter; Monaldeschi, Francesco; Santa Maria del Fiore; Santa Reparata

cathedral chapter (Florence), 40, 60–64, 89, 221, 233–39; comparison with those in other communes, 79; conflicts with bishops, 62–64; and Stefano de Broy, 93–96; duties and responsibilities of, 60–61; financial condition of, 157–58; landed properties of, 118–19; notaries, 253; relations with bishop, 96–104; role in election of bishops, 62, 96–104; social history of, 96–97; tithes of, 126; treasurer of, 63–64, 264. *See also* bishops of Florence; Broy, Stefano de; Santa Maria del Fiore; Santa Reparata

Catherine, Saint, 186–87

Cavalcanti, 33, 86, 104; Aldobrandino dei, 48, 62, 71, 86

Cavriglia, 74, 76–77, 156–57. *See also* Figline; San Niccolò (San Romolo) di Quercio

Ceceo d'Ascoli, 232. *See also* heresy; inquisition, against heresy

Ceci, Bartolomeo (Bartolo), 44, 67, 71, 264. *See also* Vallombrosa

cemeteries, 20. *See also* burial; tombs

Cerchi, 15, 284 n.10; Umiliana dei, 15, 19, 192–94, 201, 204–5, 217, 224, 241, 244; Vieri, 16. *See also* banking; tertiaries

chapels, 167–69, 180, 184–89. *See also* chaplains; secular clergy; suffrages

chaplains, 59–61, 64, 170. *See also* chapels

charity, 5–7, 25–26, 46, 51–52, 107, 145–47, 167, 204, 211–13, 242; and bishops, 146–47; and confraternities, 145–47, 302 n.167; and ecclesiastical institutions, 26, 137. *See also* Orsanmichele, charitable confraternity;

poverty/ poor

Charles I of Anjou, [15](#), [91](#), [110–11](#); economic relations with Florentines, [111](#), [268](#) n.38. *See also* Angevin monarchy; Guelfs; Louis IX, Saint

Charles of Calabria, [7](#), [17](#), [232](#)

Cherubini, Giovanni, [2](#)

Chiarissimi, [60](#); dispute with San Lorenzo over house, [60](#), [71–72](#), [76](#), [119–20](#). *See also* San Lorenzo

chronology of significant events in Florentine history, [263–64](#)

church and churches, [10–11](#); on the alienation of church property, [294](#) n.37; architecture, [226–29](#); comparison with other communes, [83–84](#), [105–6](#), [242–43](#); contested elections to ecclesiastical offices, [259–60](#); construction of, [140–43](#); in countryside, [36–39](#); Davidsohn’s scholarship on, [266](#) n.11; debts of, [144–45](#); definition of, [265](#) n.2; description of, [217–18](#); disputes within and between religious houses, [26–27](#), [37–39](#), [71–72](#); on divisions within, [244](#); and economic history of Florence, [5](#), [10](#); and expansion of urban jurisdiction in countryside, [238–39](#); financial condition of, [157–63](#); and formation of territorial *dominium*, [7](#); historiography of Florentine church, [10–11](#), [266](#) n.12; historiography on church in general, [267](#) n.27; historiography on Florentine church, [266](#) nn.11, [12](#); income and assets, [114–37](#); income as percentage of Florentine fisc, [152](#); institutions of Florentine church, [25–77](#); liabilities and expenses, [137–63](#); number in city, [37](#), [273](#) n.58; number in countryside, [36](#), [273](#) n.58; number of noncollegiate churches in two dioceses, [35](#); and political legitimization, [6–7](#), [10–11](#); primary sources for history of, [12–13](#); property of and locations of, [114–24](#), [137–40](#), [261–62](#); and regional dominance of Florence, [5–12](#); and regional economy, [154–57](#); relations with papacy, [74](#); social composition of church in Europe, [82–83](#); social history of, [105–6](#); structure of, [35](#). *See also* clergy; Davidsohn, Robert, on Florentine church; ecclesiastical liberty; *names of individual ecclesiastical institutions*; papacy; regular clergy; secular clergy

Cistercians. *See under* Settimo

city and countryside, [244](#); in historiography, [9](#). *See also* city-state; communes

city-state, [243](#). *See also* communes; *names of individual cities*

class, in Florentine history, [10–11](#), [127](#), [221](#), [267](#) n. 28

clergy: conflicts among, [37–38](#); contested elections, [259–60](#); controversy over “fictitious clerks,” [218–24](#), [263](#); corporate organizations of, [221–22](#); economic roles of, [154–57](#); elections of, [25](#), [36–38](#); in governance of local communities, [25–26](#), [34–35](#); methodology for generating numbers for Florence, [285](#) n.15; in modern historiography, [9](#); number of, [81–84](#); secular duties and roles of, [32–35](#), [154–57](#); social history of, in Europe, [82–84](#); taxation of, [147–53](#), [304](#) nn.188, [194](#). *See also* church and churches; confraternities, clerical; ecclesiastical liberty; pastoral care; regular clergy; secular clergy; taxation, *gabelle* or indirect taxes; taxation, subsidies or levies

*Clericis laicos* (1296), 150

*Clerus Florentinus*, 151. *See also* Duccio, procurator of Florentine clergy cloth industry, 3–4, 109–11. *See also* economy

Cohn, Samuel Kline, Jr., 187

Cole, Bruce, 180

Colle Val d'Elsa, 236

Coltibuono, 148, 302–3 n.177

*Commedia*, 3, 105, 170, 194; concept of the body in, 170; Virgin Mary in, 203. *See also* Dante Alighieri; *Inferno*; *Paradiso*; *Purgatorio*  
communes (Italian, urban): historiography of, 10; claiming divine favor, 321–32 n.1; and their churches, 322 n.3. *See also* names of specific cities  
communion. *See* Eucharist

Compagni, Dino, 12, 17, 101–2, 205

Compagno, Bellondo di, 59, 74, 89–96, 254; career of, 89–91. *See also* San Lorenzo

confession, 38, 58, 60, 71, 274 n.78, 278 n.130, 299 n.120. *See also* sacraments

confraternities, 5, 8, 10, 32, 51–58; and charity, 145–47; clerical, 53, 56, 58, 264; definition of, 52; historiography of, 275 n.89; list of rural  
confraternities, 274 n.94; nonlanded income of, 136–37; landed property of, 121; number in city, 37, 53; number in countryside, 36, 52; types of, 53. *See also* Henderson, John; Orsanmichele; San Pier Martire

*consorteria*, 68. *See also* Visdomini

Constitutions (Episcopal) of 1310 and 1327. *See* Synodal constitutions of Florence

consulate, 14–16

Cortona, 4

cost of living, 251. *See also* economy

Council of Vienne (1311), 152, 215

Cremona, 60

Crescentius, Saint, and Saint Eugenius, 202. *See also* Zenobius, Saint

Daddi, Bernardo, 228. *See also* images; paintings

Dante Alighieri, 3, 6–7, 9, 16, 42, 50, 77, 84, 105, 176, 189, 194, 240–41, 244; on the “carnal” church, 216; and decision to demolish hospital of San Giovanni Evangelista, 57; on Fra Dolcino, 233; on immigration and profit-taking, 109; and purgatory, 6. *See also* *Commedia*; Fra Dolcino; *Inferno*; *Paradiso*; *Purgatorio*

dates, 249

Davanzato, 206–7

Davidsohn, Robert, 5, 8, 36, 102; on Bishop Andrea Mozzi, 99–100; on Florentine church, 5, 8–9, 26, 108, 132, 160, 172; on heresy, 230; on the number of clergy, 285 n.15; on mendicants and secular clergy, 8–10, 242–43

Davis, Charles, [49](#)  
 D'Avray, D. L., [211](#). *See also* Girolami, Remigio dei  
 Decimo, [86](#), [92](#), [116](#). *See also* [San Casciano](#) (a Decimo, church); [San Casciano Val di Pesa](#); [Santa Cecilia a Decimo](#); Val d'Elsa  
 Della Bella, Giano, [16](#). *See also* [Ordinances of Justice](#); [priors](#)  
 Della Tosa, [50](#), [68](#), [80](#), [96–97](#), [199](#), [208](#), [284](#) n.13; Gottifredo di Rosso, [95](#),  
[156–57](#); Lottieri, [66](#), [72](#), [95](#), [97–98](#), [101](#), [141](#), [153](#); Rossellino, [101](#); Rosso,  
[17](#), [101](#); Simone, [101](#); Talano, [86](#), [94](#). *See also* [Aliotti](#); bishops of  
 Florence, vacancies between; San Niccolò (San Romolo) di Quercio;  
 Visdomini  
 diocese, [29](#), [35](#); contrast of Italian with English, [28–29](#); Tuscan, [29](#). *See also*  
 Fiesole, diocese of; [Florence](#), diocese of  
 dispute resolution, [6–7](#), [25](#); by members of secular clergy, [34–39](#), [241–42](#);  
 regarding church appointments in *contado*, [38](#); theories regarding, [270](#) n.8.  
*See also* secular clergy  
 Divine Office (liturgy of the hours), [6](#), [30–31](#), [59–60](#), [66](#), [172–75](#), [185](#), [191](#),  
[195–207](#). *See also* lectionary; liturgy; missal; sacramentaries  
 Dominic, Saint, [20](#). *See also* Dominicans; mendicants; Santa Maria Novella  
 Dominicans, [20](#), [48–49](#), [132](#), [146](#), [187](#). *See also* Dominic, Saint; *mantellate*;  
 mendicants; Santa Maria Novella; tertiaries  
 Donati, [63](#), [104](#); Corso, [17](#), [101](#). *See also* Black Guelfs  
 Duccio, procurator of Florentine clergy, [151](#), [162](#), [304](#) n.188, [308](#) n.245, [348](#)  
 n.205  
 Duccio, *Rucellai Madonna*, [54](#), [143](#), [190](#). *See also under* Santa Maria  
 Novella  
 Durand, Guillaume, [120](#), [171](#). *See also* Chiarissimi  
  
*ecclesia*, definition of, [35](#), [272](#) n.40. *See also* parish  
 ecclesiastical liberty, [219–24](#); conflicts involving, [322](#) n.5. *See also* church  
 and churches; communes  
 economy: history of in Florence, [2–4](#), [6](#), [78–79](#), [108–14](#); in medieval  
 historiography, [10–11](#), [244](#); monthly expenses and cost of living in  
 Florence, [129–30](#); wages in Florence, [129](#). *See also* banking; church and  
 churches; cloth industry  
 Edward I (king of England), [108](#), [110](#), [150](#). *See also* England  
 England, [28](#), [76](#), [85](#), [110](#), [186](#); number of clergy in comparison with  
 Florence, [82](#). *See also* banking; Thomas à Becket, Saint  
 episcopal courts or tribunals (general), [282](#) n.179. *See also* bishops of  
 Florence, court of; marriage; usury  
*estimo*, of churches during Primo Popolo, [302–3](#) n.177. *See also* taxation,  
 direct  
 Eucharist, [170–72](#), [180](#), [224](#). *See also* mass; *paramenta'*, sacraments  
 Eugenius, Saint. *See* Crescentius, Saint; Zenobius, Saint  
*Evangelia*, definition. *See* feasts, church

excommunication, 27–28, 31, 44, 61, 63, 70, 92, 99, 102, 220, 265 n.2  
exemption, 36, 43, 47, 49, 58, 66, 148, 288 n.60  
expectatives, 27, 91–92, 255; definition, 255  
extreme unction, 170–72, 180. *See also* sacraments

Fabbrica, 116, 125, 140. *See also* Val di Pesa

Faggiuola, Uguccione, 17, 102. *See also* Ghibellines; Pisa

feasts, church, 296–307; *evangelia*, definition, 317 n.124; *feria*, definition, 317 n.121; octave, definition of, 196, 316 n.115. *See also individual names of saints*

*feria*, definition. *See* feasts, church

Fiesole, 33, 86, 161; bishop of, 64–70, 101, 125, 142, 144, 223, 301 n.159; cathedral chapter of, 60; clergy of, 153, 221, 263; diocese of, 29, 33, 35, 82; ecclesiastical patronage rights of bishopric, 257; and heresy, 232; number of monasteries in diocese, 42; ordinations in diocese of, 85; as pathway to church office in Florence, 87, 93. *See also* Filippo da Perugia; Santa Maria in Campo

Figline, 61, 74, 76–77, 123, 156–57. *See also* Cavriglia; San Niccolò (San Romolo) di Quercio; Valdarno

Filippo da Perugia, bishop of Fiesole, 97, 173–74. *See also* Fiesole, clergy of Florence: and Angevin alliance, 4, 110; Borgo degli Albizzi, 98, 199; Borgo Pinti, 49; Borgo San Lorenzo, 49; comparison with other Italian communes, 2–8, 13–14, 109, 111–12, 154, 224, 234–35, 270 nn.2–3, 271 n.20; *contado* of, 2, 14, 18, 229, 234; diocese of, 29–36, 82; as disperser of charity, 212; female religious communities in, 49–51; grain needs of, 154, 305 n.201; history of, 14–18, 263–64; legitimacy of government, 6–7, 10–11, 16; myth of, 218–29, 226–29, 331 n.1; as “New Jerusalem,” 217–18, 226–29; Porta Romana, 49; relations with papacy, 3–4; religious topography of, 19–24; rise to regional dominance of, 2–12; social history of, 80–81, 284 n.9; social mobility in, 80–81; territorial *dominium* of, 7, 14, 18, 233–39, 270 n.3, 327 nn.77, 82; territorial expansion of, 3–4, 18; Via di Baila, 118; Via Guelfa, 118, 138; Via Romana, 56; Via San Gallo, 56, 118. *See also individual names of churches, confraternities, convents, hospitals, monasteries*

florin, 4, 225; success of, 4. *See also* money, monetary system

Fontemanzina (hospital at Fiorenzuola), 46, 56

food. *See* grain

fourteenth century, historiography on, 11, 244. *See also* Becker, Marvin; La Roncière, Charles de

Fourth Lateran Council (1215), 31, 72, 169, 271 n.19, 279 n.145; on duties of priests, 271 n.11; on episcopal administration, 69; on role of cathedral chapters in elections of bishops, 279 n.145; on taxation of churches, 147

Fra Dolcino, 210, 230, 232–33. *See also* Dante Alighieri; inquisition, against heresy; Ubertino da Casale; Villani, Giovanni

France, monarchy, 89. *See also* Angevin monarchy; Charles I of Anjou; Louis IX, Saint

Francesco da Barberino, 69, 102–3, 290 n.84. *See also under* Orsi, Antonio degli

Francis, Saint, 20, 45, 189, 213, 228, 243, 295 n.58; Rule of, 295 n.58; San Damiano, 189. *See also* Bardi, Chapel; Franciscans; mendicants; Peruzzi, Chapel; *pinzochere*; Santa Croce; *tertiaries*

Franciscans, 45, 47, 146; on papal ownership of Franciscan assets, 295 n.58; on papal renunciation of Franciscan property and declaration of evangelical poverty as heresy, 295 n.58. *See also* Francis, Saint; mendicants; Olivi, Pietro; *pinzochere*; Santa Croce; Spiritual Franciscans; *tertiaries*; Ubertino da Casale

Fratricelli. *See* Spiritual Franciscans

Franzesi, 110–11. *See also* banking

Frederick II (d. 1250), 117. *See also* papacy, conflict with Frederick II

Frederick III (king of Sicily), 215–16. *See also* Spiritual Franciscans

Frescobaldi, 80, 87, 91, 97–98, 101, 106; banking ties to papacy, 59, 110; connections with England, 110; Giovanni dei, 87; Guglielmo dei, 30, 87, 103, 156; Jacopo dei, 27; Ruggero dei, 59, 76, 87, 254, 278 n.126. *See also* banking; Edward I (king of England)

friaries, 45–51, 184; finances for construction of, 143. *See also* Carmelites; Carmignano; Dominicans; Franciscans; mendicants; Santa Croce; Santa Maria del Carmine; Santa Maria Novella; Santissima Annunziata; Santo Spirito; Spiritual Franciscans

friars. *See* mendicants

*gabelle*. *See under* taxation

Gaddi, Taddeo, 228. *See also* painting

Genoa, 4, 112, 176, 215, 289 n.74

*Gente nuova*, 104–5, 186, 241; as mentioned by Dante, 265 n.9

Germany, 79, 83, 181. *See also* nobility, in German church

Gherardini, 122–23

Gherardo da Villamagna, 206–7

Ghibellines, 14–18, 21, 29, 43–44, 106, 224, 230, 231; control of commune by, 148; decline of, 284 n.14; definition of, 15; taxation of churches by, 303 n.197. *See also* Black Guelfs; Guelfs; White Guelfs

Giogoli, notary, 252

Giordano da Pisa, 57, 204, 209–12; on heresy, 230, 232. *See also* preaching; sermons

Giordano da Rivalto. *See* Giordano da Pisa

Giotto di Bondone, 7, 22–23, 45, 143, 187, 227, 237, 263; *Ognissanti Madonna*, 190; Scrovegni Chapel, 179

Giovanni d’Andrea, 161

Girolami, Remigio dei, 26, 49, 101, 209–11. *See also* Santa Maria Novella;

sermons

*Gloriosam ecclesiam*, 216. *See also* [Spiritual Franciscans](#)

Goldthwaite, Richard, 129–31

grain, 14, 17, 29, 95, 111, 118, 301–2 n.159, 305 n.200; *divieto* in Florence, 292 n.18; grana ries, 65, 107, 123, 139, 159, 280 n.155; market for, 154; needs of other Tuscan communes, 305 n.200; prices of, 130, 140, 212, 225–26; rents on lay and ecclesiastical properties compared, 305–6 n.205; shortages or famines, 17, 52, 113, 197, 212, 220, 225, 243. *See also* [charity](#); [Mugello](#); [Orsanmichele](#)

Gratian, 326 n.59. *See also* [canon law](#); [patronage rights](#) (ecclesiastical)

Gregory IX, Pope, 66, 231

Greve River, 122, 233; notary, Santa Maria a Greve, 253

Griffolo, 190. *See also* [paintings](#); [women/spirituality](#), [religious images and](#)

Guelfs, 14–18, 224; conflict with Ghibellines, 43, 199, 208; definition of, 14–15; political legitimization and, 7, 169, 218–19; Guelf and Angevin alliance, 15–18, 110. *See also* [Black Guelfs](#); [Charles I of Anjou](#); [Ghibellines](#)

Guidi, 103, 236, 239. *See also* [magnates](#); [nobility](#)

guilds, 7, 14, 16, 81; rise to political power of, 16. *See also* [priors](#)

Henderson, John, 36–37, 53–54, 121, 129–30, 146, 209, 212, 302 n.167. *See also* [confraternities](#); [hospitals](#)

Henry VII (emperor), 225

Henry (Enrico) of Ceva, 215–16. *See also* [Frederick III](#); [Spiritual Franciscans](#)

heresy, 11, 13, 210, 223, 229–33; definition in canon law, 230. *See also* [cathars](#); inquisition, against heresy; [Salomone da Lucca](#); [Santa Croce](#); [Spiritual Franciscans](#)

Herlily, David, 159. *See also* [Pistoia](#); [Santa Maria Impruneta](#)

Honorius III, Pope, 98, 281 n.167

hospitals, 51–57; of clergy, 264, 276–77 n.105; definition, 51–52; historiography of, 275 n.89; number in city, 37; number in countryside, 36, 52. *See also* [charity](#); [confraternities](#); [ospedale di Gesù Pellegrino](#); [San Gallo](#); [San Giovanni Evangelista](#) (hospital and cemetery); [San Paolo](#) (hospital); [Santa Maria della Scala](#); [Santa Maria Nuova](#); [Spedale](#) (spedale) di Pinti

ill-gotten gains. *See* [usury](#)

images, 6, 47, 166–69; role in spirituality, 189–94. *See also* [names of individual artists](#); [paintings](#); [votive images](#); [women/spirituality](#), [religious images and](#)

immigration into Florence, 51–53, 107–9, 137, 243

Impruneta. *See* [Santa Maria Impruneta](#)

indulgences, 99, 141, 209, 226

*Inferno*, 3, 41, 99, 109, 132, 194, 232–33. *See also* [Dante Alighieri](#); [Paradiso](#); [Purgatorio](#)



Innocent IV, Pope, 97, 132, 295 n.58  
inquisition: definition of, 325 n.53; against heresy, 20–21, 218, 229–33;  
    regarding accounts of Antonio degli Orsi, 102–3. *See also* Salomone da  
    Lucca; Santa Croce  
interdict, 28, 62–63, 76, 92, 151–53, 156, 161, 218, 220, 263–64

Jacopo, Saint (James the Less), 186, 191–92, 196–98, 206. *See also* Philip  
    (Filippo), Saint; saints, cults of

Jacopo da Voragine, on souls in purgatory, 308 n.3

James, Saint. *See* Jacopo, Saint (James the Less)

James, William, 1 66–67, 246

John XXII, Pope, 44, 103, 216, 295 n.58. *See also* Spiritual Franciscans

John the Baptist, Saint, 40–42, 67, 195–207, 224–25, 227; history of cult,  
    203. *See also* Baptistery; San Giovanni (*pieve* of Florence)

Jones, Philip, 3, 265 n.8. *See also under* communes; economy

Keller, Hagen, 83

knighthood, 16, 80–81, 87. *See also* magnates; nobility

Kuehn, Thomas, 315 n.106

Lami, Giovanni, 13

Lando di Ubaldino (notary), 133–34, 184, 276 n.105. *See also* San Lorenzo

Lansing, Carol, 230

La Roncière, Charles de, 11, 36–37, 52, 129–30, 244, 272 n.36; on clerical  
    income, 298 n.103; on the Val d'Elsa, 32, 128, 266–67 n.23, 270 n.4, 272  
    n.36, 285 nn.15, 28, 297 n.100, 310 n.20. *See also* confraternities; grain;  
    poverty/ poor; Val d'Elsa

Latini, Brunetto, 132. *See also* burial; *Inferno*

*Laudesi*. *See* confraternities; Mary, Virgin

Lawrence (Lorenzo), Saint, 119, 295 n.51. *See also* saints, cults of; San  
    Lorenzo

lectionary, definition of, 313 n.75. *See also* Divine Office

Le Goff, Jacques, 167. *See also* purgatory

Lenzi, Domenico, 146, 302 n.168. *See also* grain; Orsanmichele

Leonardi, Claudio, 166. *See also* spirituality

*Libra*. *See* taxation, direct

liturgy, 195–207; census of liturgical manuscripts in Florence, 316 n.113;  
    definition of, 195. *See also* Divine Office; feasts; *individual names of*  
    *saints*; processions; sacraments; saints

loans, 144–45; involuntary (forced), 102, 112–13, 149; voluntary, 112–13,  
    149, 303 n.185. *See also* Lucca; Siena; taxation; Venice

Louis IX, Saint (king of France, brother of Charles I of Anjou), 225

Louis of Toulouse, Saint (grandson of Charles I of Anjou), 143, 228

Lucca, 2–8, 13–14, 16, 28–29, 48, 83–84, 98, 105, 154, 160, 215, 237, 272  
    n.36; control of *contado*, 234; diocese, 35; grain needs of, 305 n.200;

monastery of Guamo, 83; secular clergy in, 305 n.202; taxation in, 112; urban landholding in countryside, 109; voluntary loans in, 202 n.21, 303 n.185

Lucia, Saint, 186

Lynch, Joseph, 270 n.5

Machiavelli, Giovanni dei, 12, 63–64, 157–58, 161. *See also* cathedral chapter (Florence), treasurer of; Mozzi, Andrea

Madonna. *See* Mary, Virgin

magnates, 15–16, 44, 79, 86–88, 104–6, 219–20; anti-magnate legislation, 81, 219, 232. *See also* nobility

Malabranca Latino, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, 15, 48, 75, 199, 208, 238, 263. *See also* Ghibellines; Guelfs

Malanima, Paolo, 4, 109. *See also* economy

Mangiadori, Giovanni dei, bishop of Florence, 46–47, 66, 98, 116–17, 263 *mantellate*, 47. *See also* Dominicans; *pinzochere*; Santa Maria Novella; tertiaries

Marcovaldo, Coppo di, 40–41, 190. *See also* art; Baptistry; images; paintings

marriage, 70–71. *See also* bishops of Florence, court of

Martin (Martino), Saint, 90, 186, 188, 212. *See also* Compagno, Bellondo di; San Martino di Sesto

Mary, Virgin, 1, 40, 47, 53, 170, 186, 189, 195–207, 225, 227; cathedral dedicated to, 228–29; in Dante’s *Commedia*, 189; history of cult of, 203–4; images of, 186–94, 204, 319 n.144; Marian confraternities (*laudesi*), 53–54, 170–71, 190–94. *See also* confraternities; Duccio; Giotto, *Ognissanti Madonna*; Orsanmichele; Santa Maria del Fiore; women/spirituality, religious images and mass, 31, 59, 173–75, 180, 195; definition, 310 n.29; elevation of the host, 311 n.40; equipment required for, 310 n.29; post-mortem masses, 6, 133, 136, 164–75, 308 n.3; vestments required for, 310 n.29. *See also* Eucharist; *paramenta*; purgatory; sacraments; suffrages

Massa Marittima, 29

*Matrix Monasticon*, 36–37. *See also* nuns/nunneries; Villani, on the number of nunneries

Medici, 81, 88, 104–5

Meek, Christine, 303 n.185

mendicants, 32; arrival in Florence, 20, 45–47; black and gray friars, 45–46, 100; conflict with secular clergy, 133, 266 n.22; in modern historiography, 9; and preaching, 208–9; property of, 120–21; social history of, 104; as treasurers of commune, 323 n.17; views of Robert Davidsohn on, 9. *See also* Austin Friars; Caponsacchi, Illuminato dei; Carmelites; *mantellate*; Monaldeschi, Francesco; Olivi, Pietro; *pinzochere*; Saccati (Friars of the Sack); Santa Croce; Santa Maria della Novella; Santo Spirito; Servites; Spiritual Franciscans; Ubertino da Cásale; Umiliati

*Mezzadria*, 108–9, 115, 137, 245. *See also* economy  
 Midea, 57, 90. *See also* Compagno, Bellondo di; San Lorenzo  
 Milan, 79, 83, 222; hospitals in, 54  
 Miller, Maureen, 329 n.6  
 missal, definition of, 309–10 n.16. *See also* Divine Office  
 Minias, Saint, 195, 198, 201. *See also* bishops of Florence; saints, cults of;  
     San Miniato al Monte  
 miracles, 224–25; curative, 1–2, 167, 170, 204–5, 226, 263  
 Molezzano, 238. *See also* Mugello; Ubaldini  
 Monaldeschi, Francesco, bishop of Florence, 22, 46, 53, 66, 117; career as  
     bishop of Florence and Orvieto, 100–101; and conflict between gray and  
     black friars of penitence, 69, 100; dispute with Stefano de Broy, 94–95.  
     *See also* Santa Maria del Fiore  
 monasteries and convents, 42–51; landed properties of, 123–24; number in  
     city, 37, 44–51; number in countryside, 36, 42; number in diocese of  
     Fiesole, 42; number of female communities in city, 45. *See also* *Matrix*  
     *Monasticon*; nuns/nunneries; regular clergy  
 money: debasement, 113–14, 249; depreciation, 249; monetary system, 249–  
     50. *See also* banking; florin  
 Montaperti, battle of, 15, 80, 98. *See also* Ghibellines; Guelfs; Siena  
 Montecatini, battle of, 17, 152  
 Monte di Croce, 69, 236, 238. *See also* Nelli, Renzo; Val di Sieve  
 Montegiove, 101. *See also* Val di Sieve  
 Monteloro, 125, 253. *See also* Val di Sieve  
 Monterotondo, 63, 70. *See also* Benvenuti, Chele; Mugello  
 mortuary income (or fees), 59, 64, 128, 132–37, 158, 181, 213, 278 n.130,  
     282 n.179. *See also* burial  
 Mozzi, 80–81, 104, 284 n.10; Andrea, bishop of Florence, 46, 53, 62, 66, 71,  
     76–77, 86–87, 97–99, 139, 200, 209, 263; banking connections with  
     England, 110; banking ties to papacy, 62, 110; Ruggero, 97; ties with  
     Charles I of Anjou, 111; Tommaso, 99–100  
 Mugello, 17–18, 29, 33, 38, 52, 61–62, 115, 125, 155, 186, 234–36; landed  
     properties of bishops, 115–16; notaries, 252–53; possessions of cathedral  
     chapter, 118. *See also* Borgo San Lorenzo; Vespignano  
 Mugnone River, 57, 118

Najemy, John, 284 nn.9, 11–13  
 names and naming customs, 250  
 Naples, 48. *See also* Angevin monarchy; Charles I of Anjou  
 Nédellec, Hervé de, 64  
 Nelli, Renzo, 236, 328 n.91. *See also* Monte di Croce  
 Nero, Bene di, 19, 26–28, 32, 35, 39–40, 68, 89–96, 168, 246; career of, 92;  
     conflict with Federico dei Bardi, 27–28; investment as archpriest of  
     Impruneta, 25; testament of, 122. *See also* Bardi, Federico dei; Santa

Maria Impruneta; secular clergy  
 Nerli, [85](#), [104](#), [123](#), [232](#), [285](#); patronage rights of, [285](#) n.28  
 Niccolò, abbot of Passignano, [156](#)  
 Niccolò da Prato, cardinal legate, bishop of Ostia, [93](#), [153](#), [160](#), [209](#), [263](#). *See also under* papacy  
 Nicholas IV, Pope, [46](#), [94](#), [99](#)  
 nobility, [15](#), [38](#), [83–84](#), [86](#), [92](#), [171](#); in German church, [79](#), [83](#). *See also* knighthood; magnates  
 notaries, [12–13](#), [126](#); checklist of protocols associated with ecclesiastical communities, [252–53](#), [278](#) n.133. *See also* Benedetto di Maestro Martino; Bindo di Romeo da Calenzano; Lando di Ubaldino; Opizzo da Pontremoli; Ricovero di Aldobrandino nuns/nunneries, [45](#), [47–51](#). *See also individual names of specific houses; Matrix Monasticon*; monasteries and convents, number of female communities in city; regular clergy; Rule of St. Augustine; San Giovanni Evangelista (fra' l' Arcora, convent); San Matteo in Arcetri; San Pier Maggiore; Umiltà, Saint  
 Oakley, Francis, [31](#), [164](#)  
 oblations, [128](#), [132–37](#). *See also* altars  
 octave, definition. *See* feasts, church  
 Ognissanti, [40](#), [47](#), [222–23](#). *See also* Giotto, *Ognissanti Madonna*; Umiliati  
 Olivi, Pietro, [19](#), [21](#), [26](#), [45](#), [47](#), [164](#), [263](#). *See also* mendicants; poverty/poor, poverty of use; Santa Croce; Spiritual Franciscans  
 Opera San Giovanni, [153](#)  
 Opizzo (or Obizzo) da Pontremoli, [133–34](#), [253](#). *See also pinzochere*; Santa Croce  
 oratories, definition of, [272](#) n.40. *See also ecclesia*; parish  
 Ordinances of Justice, [16](#). *See also* magnates; priors  
 ordination, [85](#), [265](#) n.2. *See also* sacraments  
 Orsanmichele, [1](#), [53](#), [77](#), [114](#), [121](#), [204](#), [227](#), [263](#); charitable confraternity (company of the Madonna), [53](#), [145–47](#), [164](#), [209](#), [211–12](#), [228](#), [302](#) n.167; on distribution of charity, [302](#) n.167. *See also* Mary, Virgin, images of; San Michele in Orto  
 d'Orso, Antonio. *See* Orsi, Antonio degli  
 Orsi, Antonio degli, [17](#), [43](#), [65–66](#), [68–69](#), [71–72](#), [95](#), [138](#); career as bishop, [101–3](#); and the cult of Saint Zenobius, [202–3](#), [206](#); and the papal tenth, [102–3](#), [152](#); and the Spiritual Franciscans, [215](#). *See also* inquisition, accounts of Antonio degli Orsi; Spiritual Franciscans  
 Orsini, Giovanni degli, [28](#), [75](#), [225](#); Napoleone degli, [44](#), [75–76](#), [150](#), [153](#), [264](#), [283](#) n.191, [300](#) n.149. *See also under* papacy; papal legates  
 Osheim, Duane, [266–67](#) n.23, [305](#) n.202. *See also* Lucca  
 ospedale di Gesù Pellegrino, [56](#)  
 Padua, [60](#), [83–84](#), [105](#), [232](#), [273](#) n.57, [279](#) n.134; Scrovegni Chapel, [179](#). *See also* Giotto

paintings, 143, 186, 190–94, 228, 314 n.85. *See also* Daddi, Bernardo; Duccio, *Rucellai Madonna*; Gaddi, Taddeo; Giotto; images of palaces, episcopal, 64–65, 139. *See also* Palazzo dei Priori (Palazzo della Signoria)

Palazzo dei Priori (Palazzo della Signoria), 7, 14, 16, 21, 228

papacy: conflict with Frederick II, 14; court of, 74–76, 144, 161; ecclesiastical institutions under its protection, 273 n.59; judges delegate, 75–76, 131, 144; and the mendicants, 214–16; patronage, 74–77; relations with commune of Florence, 3–4; relations with Florentine church, 74–77, 89–96; relations with Florentine families, 78–79, 84, 87–96, 105–6. *See also* bishops of Florence, papacy, relations with; expectatives; papal legates; papal provision; papal tenth

papal legates, 70, 76, 153, 208, 264

papal provision, 73–74, 76–77, 91, 159; definition of, 270 n.5; list of, 254–55. *See also* Bardi, Federico dei; Compagno, Bellondo di; Della Tosa, Gottifredo di Rossa; Santa Maria Impruneta, conflict over office of archpriest; San Niccolò (San Romolo) di Quercio

papal tenth, 33, 35, 58, 75, 93, 108, 120, 122, 145, 148–49; and Antonio degli Orsi, 102–3, 152; failure of churches to pay, 161. *See also under* papacy

papal tithe. *See* papal tenth

*Paradiso*, 164. *See also* Dante Alighieri; *Inferno*; *Purgatorio*

*paramenta*, definition of, 310 n.27. *See also* altars; mass; testaments; vestments

parish, 28–42; appearance and living conditions, 36; conflicts between parishes, 38–39, 59–60; comparison of number of urban parishes with other communes, 273 n.57; number of parishes in city and countryside, 273 n.58 *See also* bishops of Florence; church and churches; clergy; oratories; secular clergy

Passignano, 43–44, 123–24, 148; financial condition of, 158–59, 161. *See also* Vallombrosa

pastoral care, 29–32, 53, 172–75; and accompanying rights, 27, 30, 59, 64, 70, 132, 161, 279 n.182, 282 n.179. *See also* clergy; confession; Eucharist; mortuary income; sacraments; San Lorenzo, pastoral duties of; spirituality

Patarines, 230. *See also* heresy; inquisition, against heresy

patrons and patronage, 49, 143, 159. *See also* patronage rights (ecclesiastical) patronage rights (ecclesiastical), 36, 40, 73, 85–88, 256–58, 285 n.28; of bishopric, 69–70, 72–74, 256–57; canon law regarding, 283 n.185; of cathedral chapter, 61–62, 257; of ecclesiastical institutions and patrons, 72–74, 256–58. *See also* canon law

Pazzi, 103, 236, 239. *See also* magnates; nobility; Valdarno

Perugia, 98

Peruzzi, 88, 106, 111, 227, 286 n.42; banking ties to papacy, 110; Chapel, 22, 143, 187, 228; Donato d'Arnoldo dei, 143. *See also* Bardi; Santa Croce

Peterson, David, 273 n.58

Philip (Filippo), Saint, 196–98, 206; relic of in Florence, 317 nn.116, 123.

*See also* Jacopo, Saint

piety, 164–216. *See also* spirituality

*pieve*, 32, 37; definition of, 35. *See also* archpriest; *piviere*

*pinzochere*, 46–48, 134–35, 263, 275 n.82; Benvenuti Papi's work on, 299

n.114; organization of, 275 n.82. *See also* mendicants; Santa Croce; tertiaryaries

Pisa, 2–8, 13–14, 16, 28–29, 83, 105, 150, 160, 237; control of *contado*, 234;

diocese, 35; ecclesiastical patronage in, 73–74; grain needs of, 305 n.200;

hospitals in, 54; taxation in, 112. *See also* Ronzani, Mauro

Pisano, Andrea, 273 n.61

Pistoia, 4, 28–29, 113, 219–21, 236

*piviere*, 18; definition of, 18, 35

*plebanus*, 35. *See also* archpriest

*plebatus*. *See* *piviere*

*plebs*. *See* *pieve*

*popolo* (as division of *piviere*). *See* parish; *piviere*

*popolo* (as social group), 88, 106; definition of, 7, 15; *popolo minuto*, 12

population, 2, 13–14, 108–9

Portinari, Beatrice, 57, 121; in the *Commedia*, 189; Folco, 57, 121. *See also*

*under* Dante Alighieri; Santa Maria Nuova

poverty/poor, 3, 13–14, 51; definitions of, 308 n.2, 320 n.170; the lay poor,

212; poor of Christ or “professional poor” (*paupers Christi*), 164, 212, 320

n.170; poverty of use, 214–16; “religious poor,” definition of, 211;

“respectable poor,” 164, 308 n.2. *See also* charity; confraternities;

mendicants; Olivi, Pietro

Prato, 4, 28

preaching, 30, 45, 57, 207–211. *See also* Giordano da Pisa; Girolami,

Remigio dei; sermons

prebends, 128–32, 254, 259, 263, 278 n.126, 279 n.134. *See also* secular

clergy, income

priests. *See* clergy; pastoral care; secular clergy

Primo Popolo, 15, 98, 148, 222

priors (college of priors), 14–18. *See also* guilds; magnates; Signoria

processions, 196–207, 229. *See also* bishops of Florence, ritual entry into

city; liturgy; *names of individual saints*; saints, cults of

procurator, 37, 60, 126, 131. *See also* Duccio, procurator of Florentine clergy

Provence, 6, 215, 245

Pulci, 119, 123

*Purgatorio*, 176, 194, 216. *See also* Belacqua; Dante Alighieri; *Inferno*;

*Paradiso*

purgatory, 6, 166–69, 171–72, 180, 207–211, 242; and heresy, 229–31; and

modernity, 245; origins of idea of, 309 n.14. *See also* Dante Alighieri;

*Quamquam* (1274), 177, 263

Rainucci, Jacopo, bishop of Florence, 62, 66, 68, 97–98, 101, 141. *See also* bishops of Florence, ritual entry into city; processions

Ranieri d'Aliotto da Padule, 90. *See also* San Lorenzo

*Rationes decimarum*, 36–37, 40, 156, 269 n.51, 285 n.15. *See also* papal tenth

*rector* (*rectores*, plural), 35. *See* clergy; parish; secular clergy

Reggio Emilia, 219–21

regular clergy, 10–13, 42–51. *See also* clergy; *individual names of monasteries*

*Reparata, Saint*, 67, 195–97, 201, 207, 313 n.79. *See also* saints, cults of; Santa Maria del Fiore

Ricetti, Lucio, 7, 100. *See also* Monaldeschi, Francesco

Ricovero di Aldobrandino, 69

Rieti, 60, 83, 183, 185

Rigon, Antonio, 53

Ronzani, Mauro, 73. *See also* Pisa *Rucellai Madonna*, 54–55. *See also* Duccio, *Rucellai Madonna*; paintings

Rule of Saint Augustine, 46, 50

rural communes (diocese of Florence), 235–36. *See also* Borgo San Lorenzo; Castelfiorentino; San Casciano Val di Pesa

Saccati (Friars of the Sack), 20, 46, 214. *See also* mendicants

Sacconi, Rainer, on catharism and purgatory, 230. *See also* cathars; purgatory

sacramentaries, definition of, 316 n.113. *See also* Divine Office

sacraments, 29–32, 61, 66, 151, 170–72, 271 n.13. *See also* confession;

Eucharist; extreme unction; liturgy; mass; ordination; spirituality

saints, cults of, 5, 10, 167–69, 196–207; cults in city, 196–205; cults in countryside, 205–7; and legitimization of Guelf regime, 200–207, 217–19, 224–26. *See also* liturgy; Mary, Virgin; miracles, curative; *names of individual saints*; processions

Salimbene de Adam, 14, 45

Salomone da Lucca (Fra'), 231–33. *See also* Ghibellines; inquisition, against heresy

Saltarelli, 104, 116, 236, 239

Salvini, Salvino, 77. *See also* cathedral chapter (Florence)

San Barnaba, 96. *See also* Barnabas, Saint; Campaldino

San Bartolo, 127–32

San Casciano (a Decimo, church), 126, 131. *See also* San Casciano Val di Pesa; Santa Cecilia a Decimo (*pieve*); Val di Pesa

San Casciano Val di Pesa, 116–17, 139–40, 235. *See also* San Casciano (church); Santa Cecilia a Decimo (*pieve*); Val di Pesa



San Frediano, 131  
 San Gallo (hospital), 45, 56–57, 121. *See also* hospitals  
 San Gimignano, 4, 219  
 San Giovanni (*pieve* of Florence), 40–42; notary, 252. *See also* Baptistry; cathedral chapter (Florence); John the Baptist, Saint  
 San Giovanni Battista (Hospitalers). *See* San Lorenzo, conflict with San Giovanni Battista (Hospitalers)  
 San Giovanni di Signa, 38, 62, 87–88. *See also* cathedral chapter (Florence), landed properties of; Signa  
 San Giovanni Evangelista (fra' l' Arcora, convent), 50, 191  
 San Giovanni Evangelista (hospital and cemetery), 54, 57, 62–63, 71, 227, 312 n.60. *See also* Benvenuti, Chele  
 San Godenzo, 43, 274 n.68  
 San Lorenzo, 8, 19, 40, 57–60, 71, 89, 184, 197; burial choices in parish of, 182–84; conflict with San Giovanni Battista (Hospitalers), 59–60, 71, 135, 278 n.130, 298 n.107; constitutions of 1369, 180–81, 277 n.118; dispute with Chiarissimi over house in parish, 60, 71–72, 263; disputes with other religious houses, 59–60, 298 n.107; ecclesiastical patronage rights of, 258; landed possessions of, 119–20, 295 n.51; non-landed income, 135–37; notaries, 252–53; pastoral duties of, 58–59; tithes, 125. *See also* Bowsky, William; Compagno, Bellondo di; Chiarissimi; secular clergy  
 San Martino a Mensola, 34, 125  
 San Martino di Gangalandi, 38. *See also* Signa  
 San Martino di Sesto (*pieve*), 90, 94, 235. *See also* Capalle  
 San Matteo di Arcetri, 20, 51, 144. *See also* Austin Friars; Santo Spirito  
 San Michele di Passignano. *See* Passignano  
 San Michele in Orto, 1. *See also* Orsanmichele  
 San Michele in Poggio San Donato (diocese of Siena), 191. *See also* Griffolo; paintings  
 San Michele Visdomini, 38, 85, 135, 228. *See also* Visdomini  
 San Miniato al Monte, 19, 49, 65, 127, 139, 197; notary, 252. *See also* bishops of Florence; monasteries and convents; palaces, episcopal  
 San Niccolò (San Romolo) di Quercio, 76–77, 156–57. *See also* Cavriglia; Figline; Della Tosa, Gottifredo di Rosso; papal provision  
 San Paolo a Mosciano, 127–32  
 San Paolo (hospital), 54, 56  
 San Paolo di Razuolo, 43, 52  
 San Pier Maggiore, 99, 145, 197–200, 226; piazza, 200; ritual marriage of abbess with bishop, 99. *See also* bishops of Florence, ritual entry into city; nuns/nunneries  
 San Pier Martire, 53–54, 121, 136. *See also* confraternities  
 San Piero ad Ema, 127–32  
 San Piero Scheraggio, 40, 56  
 San Salvatore, 25, 65. *See also* palaces, episcopal; chapels

San Simone, [181](#), [197](#), [237](#)

Santa Cecilia a Decimo (*pieve*), [116](#). *See also* San Casciano Val di Pesa;  
Santo Stefano di Campoli; Val di Pesa

Santa Croce, [3](#), [13](#), [20–21](#), [26](#), [45–47](#), [104](#), [140](#), [185](#), [213–16](#), [226](#), [264](#);  
construction of, [231](#), [263](#); and inquisition, against heresy, [229–33](#), [253](#);  
notary, [253](#). *See also* Arnolfo di Cambio; Bardi, Chapel; Caponsacchi,  
Illuminato dei; mendicants; Peruzzi, Chapel; *pinzochere*

Sant' Andrea, [61](#), [63](#), [279](#) n.148

Sant' Andrea di Fabbrica. *See* Fabbrica

Santa Maria del Carmine, [46](#), [141](#), [147](#), [227](#), [263–64](#), [300](#) n.149. *See also*  
Carmelites

Santa Maria del Fiore (cathedral), [7](#), [22–24](#), [60](#), [103](#), [221](#), [262](#), [325](#) n.51;  
design and plans for, [228–29](#); financing for construction of, [141–42](#), [300–](#)  
[301](#) n.150. *See also* Arnolfo di Cambio; Florence, myth of; Monaldeschi,  
Francesco

Santa Maria della Scala (hospital in Florence), [56](#), [95](#)

Santa Maria di Campoli, [33–34](#), [74](#), [76](#), [86](#)

Santa Maria di Mantignano, [50](#)

Santa Maria in Campo, [65](#), [102](#). *See also* Fiesole, bishop of

Santa Maria Impruneta, [27](#), [32](#), [35](#), [39](#), [58](#), [61](#), [89](#), [114](#), [174–75](#), [298](#) n.107; as  
borrower of money, [144–45](#); conflict over office of archpriest, [27–28](#), [76](#),  
[264](#); financial condition of, [159–60](#); income of, [159](#); landed properties of  
*pieve*, [121–22](#); non-landed income, [135–37](#); notaries, [252–53](#); papal  
exemption of churches, [66](#); patronage rights in, [74](#). *See* Bardi, Federico  
dei; Buondelmonti; Nero, Bene di

Santa Maria Maddalena, [50](#), [172](#), [228](#)

Santa Maria Maggiore, [30](#), [40](#), [61](#), [120](#), [132](#), [135](#); notary, [252](#). *See also*  
Andrea da Cerreto; Latini, Brunetto

Santa Maria Novella, [3](#), [20–21](#), [26](#), [46–49](#), [53](#), [64](#), [88](#), [101](#), [104](#), [132](#), [141](#),  
[205](#), [264](#); chapels in, [187](#); notary, [252–53](#); preaching of Giordano da Pisa  
in piazza of, [210](#); rebuilding of, [99](#), [227](#), [231](#), [263](#); and the Spiritual  
Franciscans, [213–16](#). *See also* Dominicans; Giordano da Pisa; Girolami,  
Remigio dei; *mantellate*; mendicants; Olivi, Pietro; Spiritual Franciscans;  
tertiaries; Ubertino da Casale

Santa Maria Nuova, [56–57](#), [69](#), [121](#). *See also* Portinari, Beatrice

Santa Maria Sopra Porta, [40](#), [91](#)

Santa Maria sopr' Arno, [92](#), [187](#); notary, [252](#)

Santa Reparata (cathedral), [20](#), [22](#), [60](#), [228–29](#); original structure, [270](#) n.59.

*See also* Reparata, Saint; Santa Maria del Fiore

Santa Reparata (hospital). *See* San Giovanni Evangelista

Santa Trinita, [38](#)

Sant'Egidio, [46](#), [53](#), [57](#). *See also* Santa Maria Nuova

Sant'Ellero, [218](#), [263](#)

Sant'Elpidio, Enrico di, [69](#), [151](#), [281–82](#) [11.172](#)

Sant'Ilario a Pitigliolo, 39  
 Santissima Annunziata, 47, 140, 188; financial condition of, 158. *See also* mendicants; Servites  
 Santissimi Apostoli, 70  
 Santo Spirito (established by Austin Friars), 47, 53, 209, 263. *See also* Austin Friars; Rule of Saint Augustine; San Matteo in Arcetri  
 Santo Stefano di Campoli (*pieve*), 86, 89, 93–96, 116, 263. *See also* Broy, Stefano de; Mozzi, Andrea; Monaldeschi, Francesco; San Casciano Val di Pesa; Santa Cecilia a Decimo (*pieve*)  
 San Zanobi (confraternity), 171  
 Schwartz, Michael Victor, 328–29 n.97  
 Second Council of Lyon (1274), 46, 67, 169, 180, 309 n.14. *See also* purgatory  
 secular clergy, 6–11, 25–42, 57–74; duties and obligations of, 29–35; income of, 126–32; involvement in dispute resolution, 6–7; landed endowments in countryside, 121–24; as leaders in their communities, 26, 32–35, 244, 272 n.36; pastoral responsibilities, 164–216. *See also* bishops; cathedral chapter; clergy; mendicants, conflict with secular clergy; San Lorenzo  
 Segarelli, Gherardo, 232. *See also* Fra Dolcino  
 sermons, 57, 204, 207–12, 230, 232; episcopal, 207–8. *See also* Giordano da Pisa; Girolami, Remigio dei; preaching  
 Servites, 20, 46–47, 121, 214, 263, 269 n.51. *See also* mendicants; Santissima Annunziata  
 Sesto. *See* San Martino di Sesto  
 Settignano, 34  
 Settimo, 33, 43, 222; notaries, 252–53; San Giuliano (*pieve*), 33; San Salvatore di Settimo, 43, 123–24  
 Sicily, 154, 215; and the production of wheat for export, 305 n.200. *See also* Florence, grain needs of; Frederick III; grain  
 Siena, 2–8, 14, 28–29, 48, 111, 154, 176, 217, 273 n.57; and heresy, 233; and its church, 322 n.3; taxation in, 112; voluntary loans in, 112–13, 149, 292 n.21, 303 n.185  
 Signa, 61, 76, 118, 236. *See also* cathedral chapter (Florence), landed properties of; San Giovanni di Signa  
 Signoria, 18, 210, 219. *See also* priors  
 Silvestri, Francesco, bishop of Florence, 66, 72, 140; career as bishop, 103–4. *See also* Synodal constitutions  
 Spedale (ospedale) di Pinti, 54  
 Spini. *See* Mozzi  
 Spiritual Franciscans, 47, 75, 169, 208, 213–16, 245. *See also* Franciscans; Frederick III; *Gloriosam ecclesiam*; Henry (Enrico) of Ceva; mendicants; Olivi, Pietro; Ubertino da Casale  
 spirituality: beliefs, 169–72; ideal of *imitatio Christi*, 10, 50, 84, 168–69, 207, 213, 242–43; paradigms of, 168; in private sphere, 169–94; in public

sphere, 195–213; and women, 6–7, 10, 189–94. *See also* charity; confraternities; mendicants; miracles; *pinzochere*; processions; purgatory; tertiaries; testaments

Stefani, Marchionne di Coppo, 12, 113, 226

Strozzi, 80–81, 88, 104

*Studium generale*, 26, 45, 49, 263–64. *See also* Santa Croce; Santa Maria del Carmine; Santa Maria Novella; Santo Spirito

suffrages, 185, 308 n.3; definition of, 176. *See also* Belacqua; chapels; chaplains

*Super cathedram*, 177, 263

Swanson, Robert N., 30, 82–83, 265 n.2; census of English clergy, 285 n.15

Synodal constitutions of Florence (1310 and 1327), 12, 30, 67–68, 72, 103, 132, 163, 173, 182, 222, 263. *See also* Orsi, Antonio degli; Silvestri, Francesco; Trexler, Richard

taxation, 38, 49, 108, 147–53; of church, 98, 113, 140, 159, 221, 302–3 n.177; by commune, 27, 111–13, 218, 292 n.21; direct (*estimo* or *libra*), 111, 148, 303 n.197; *gabelle* or indirect taxes, 108, 111, 149–53, 221–22, 264, 304 n.188; subsidies or levies, 149–50, 156, 221–22, 263–64. *See also* loans; papal tenth.

*Te Deum*, 25; occasions for, 316 n.115

tertiaries, 20, 45–47, 169. *See also* Cerchi, Umiliana dei; Franciscans; *mantellate*; mendicants; Santa Croce; Santa Maria Novella

testaments, 12–13, 33, 175–77, 241; role of clergy in their creation and execution, 33–34, 42, 66; testamentary bequests or legacies, 38, 54, 128, 132–37, 158, 273 n.59, 278 n.130. *See also* mass; Opizzo (or Obizzo) da Pontremoli; suffrages; usury

textile industry. *See* cloth industry

Third Lateran Council (1179), 147, 271 n.16

Thomas à Becket, Saint, cult of, 186, 196, 198, 205, 207, 313 n.79. *See also* altars

Tino da Camaino, 313 n.73

tithes, 38–39, 42, 61, 124–26, 128, 273 n.59, 282 n.179; origin of, 297 nn.89, 90; in the Val d’Elsa, 297 n.100

Tocco, Felice, 230. *See also* heresy

tombs, 184–89, 242, 312 n.70; history of monumental tombs in Florence, 313 n.73. *See also* burial

Torello da Poppi, 206

Tornaquinci, 86, 104

Tosinghi. *See* Della Tosa

Trachtenberg, Marvin, 227

Trexler, Richard, 11, 220; on number of clergy, 285 n.15; on number of nunneries, 275 n.85; on testamentary income, 133, 176; on taxation of church, 329 n.7

Ubaldini, [88](#), [97](#), [103](#), [236](#), [238](#), [239](#); Ottaviano, [98](#), [218](#); Schiatta degli, [97](#)–[98](#). *See also* magnates  
 Uberti, [232](#); Farinata degli, [231](#)  
 Ubertino da Casale, [45](#), [75](#), [164](#), [208](#), [213](#)–[16](#), [263](#); *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu*, [164](#). *See also* Olivi, Pietro; Spiritual Franciscans  
 Ughelli, Ferdinando, [13](#)  
 Umiliati, [20](#), [263](#), [269](#) n.51. *See also* Ognissanti  
 Umiltà, Saint, [50](#), [192](#). *See also* San Giovanni Evangelista (fra' l'Arcora, convent)  
 Updike, John, [240](#)  
 usury, [6](#), [31](#), [34](#), [66](#), [70](#)–[71](#), [166](#), [177](#)–[79](#), [191](#)–[94](#), [210](#), [271](#) n.13, [282](#) n.179; accusations against priests, [174](#); *certa* and *incerta*, [67](#)–[68](#); in episcopal court, [70](#)–[71](#), [282](#) n.179; excommunication for, [271](#) n.16, [309](#) n.15; and its condemnation in church law, [309](#) n.15; jurisdiction of bishops over, [67](#)–[68](#). *See also* Council of Vienne; Fourth Lateran Council; Second Council of Lyon; Third Lateran Council  
  
 Valdarno, [62](#), [115](#)–[16](#), [118](#), [156](#)–[57](#), [233](#), [235](#), [239](#). *See also* Cavriglia; Figline  
 Val d'Elsa, [32](#), [115](#), [206](#), [233](#), [235](#), [266](#) n.23; notaries, [252](#)–[53](#). *See also* Castelfiorentino; La Roncière, Charles de, on the Val d'Elsa  
 Val di Pesa, [44](#), [115](#)–[16](#), [139](#), [233](#)–[36](#), [239](#). *See also* San Casciano (a Decimo, church); San Casciano Val di Pesa; Santa Cecilia a Decimo  
 Val di Sieve, [115](#)–[16](#), [207](#), [233](#)–[39](#). *See also* Monte di Croce; Montegiove; Monteloro; Nelli, Renzo  
 Vallombrosa, [43](#)–[44](#), [67](#), [71](#), [99](#), [314](#) n.93; Vallombrosan Order, [93](#), [95](#). *See also* Buondelmonti, Ruggero dei; Ceci, Bartolomeo (Bartolo); Passignano  
 Velluti, [187](#)  
 Venice, [4](#), [78](#), [224](#); forced loans in, [292](#) n.21  
 Verdiana, [206](#)–[7](#). *See also* Castelfiorentino; Val d'Elsa  
 Verona, [35](#)  
 Vespignano, [52](#), [155](#), [175](#), [236](#); notary, [253](#). *See also* Mugello  
 vestments. *See* Brunelleschi, Betto dei; burial, rights; mass; *paramenta*  
 Vicenza, [77](#), [99](#)  
 Villani, Giovanni, [1](#)–[2](#), [12](#), [28](#), [36](#)–[37](#), [146](#), [164](#), [212](#), [224](#); on *gabelle*, [112](#); on heresy, [230](#), [232](#); on Impruneta, [76](#); on the magnificence of Florence, [2](#), [11](#); on the number of hospitals, [54](#); on the number of nunneries, [45](#), [275](#) n.85; on Saint Zenobius, [202](#); on an “ungrateful” clergy, [151](#)  
 Vincent, Saint, [67](#), [196](#), [201](#)  
 Visdomini, [50](#), [68](#), [80](#), [85](#)–[86](#), [94](#), [96](#), [101](#), [104](#), [284](#) n.13; Bindo di Guido di Aldobrandino dei, [68](#); *consorteria* with Aliotti and Della Tosa, [86](#), [98](#); Lottieri, [69](#). *See also* Aliotti; bishops of Florence, vacancies between; Della Tosa  
 visitation, [67](#), [126](#)–[27](#), [172](#)–[73](#), [310](#) n.22

Vito da Cortona, [193](#), [204](#). *See also* Cerchi, Umiliana dei Vivaldo, [206](#)  
Volterra, [4](#), [29](#), [111](#)  
votive images, [1](#), [204](#). *See also* [images](#); [miracles](#), curative; [Orsanmichele](#)

Waley, Daniel, [311](#) n.35, [322](#) n.3

walls (of Florence and their cost), [14](#), [19–21](#), [47](#), [56](#), [143](#), [150–51](#), [160–61](#), [221–22](#), [263](#); requirement to contribute to walls in testaments, [300](#) n.143, [301](#) nn.150–51. *See also* [Giovanni d’Andrea](#)

wars, [11–12](#), [17](#), [49](#), [112](#), [162](#), [196](#)

Weber, Max, on relation between religion and capitalism, [330](#) n.12

weights and measurements, [250](#)

Wharton, Edith, [80–81](#); *Age of Innocence*, [80](#)

White Guelfs, [16](#), [64](#), [77](#), [209](#), [226](#). *See also* [Black Guelfs](#); [Cerchi](#), Vieri; [Ghibellines](#); [Guelfs](#)

Wickham, Chris, [272](#) n.36, [328](#) n.91

women/spirituality: and property, [315](#) n.106; religious images and, [6–7](#), [189–95](#), [241–42](#); testamentary legacies and, [194](#). *See also* [Cerchi](#), Umiliana dei; Florence, female religious communities in; *mantellate*; *Matrix Monasticon*; monasteries and convents, number of female communities in city; nuns/nunneries; *pinzochere*; tertiaries; spirituality, and women; Villani, on the number of nunneries

Zenobius, Saint, [20](#), [67](#), [170](#), [195–99](#), [207](#), [224](#), [227](#); exhumation of body, [142](#), [241](#), [264](#); *Geniculum*, [199](#); history of cult, [202–3](#); as protector of Florence, [226](#); relics of, [217](#). *See also* [bishops of Florence](#), ritual entry into city; [saints](#), [cults of](#)

Zorzi, Andrea, [235](#); on formation of Florentine *dominium*, [327–28](#) nn.77, [80](#), [82](#), [87](#), [89](#); and historiography of the early modern state, [327](#) n.82

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